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TRANSLATIONS
OF
CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

THE EPISTLES
OF
ST. IGNATIUS

J. H. SRAWLEY, D. D.

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SERIES I
GREEK TEXTS

THE EPISTLES
OF
ST. IGNATIUS,
BISHOP OF ANTIOCH

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TRANSLATIONS OF CHRISTIAN
LITERATURE . SERIES I
GREEK TEXTS

THE EPISTLES OF
ST IGNATIUS
BISHOP OF ANTIOCH

Gateway Seminary Library

By J·H·SRAWLEY·D·D

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PREFACE

THE present translation of the epistles of St. Ignatius is intended to set before English readers, in an accessible form, the writings of one of the most important characters in the Church history of the period succeeding the age of the Apostles. In these epistles we have the key to the right understanding of the character of the Church at the beginning of the second century. The two facts to which they bear witness are, on the one hand, the significance of the Incarnation for Christians of that generation as the central truth of Christianity, and, on the other, the importance attached to the visible unity of the Church as expressed in the organization of the Christian societies under bishops, presbyters, and deacons. The striking personality of the writer of the epistles, and the controversy which has gathered round them, combine to make them one of the most interesting products of early Christian times.

Bishop Lightfoot's great work (*Ignatius and Polycarp*, 1885) has exhaustively treated of most of the critical questions which are connected with the text and the exposition of the epistles. The present writer has made that work his chief guide, and has rarely ventured, in the interpretation of passages, to depart from the views expressed in it. On the nature of the heresies attacked in the epistles, however, he has adopted in the main the conclusions of Dr. Hort in his *Judaistic Christianity*. The articles on Ignatius by Dr. Harnack in the *Expositor* for 1885 and 1886, as well as the same writer's treatment of the epistles in his *Chronologie der Altchristlichen Litteratur*, have also been consulted. The notes of Zahn on the epistles have supplied much useful matter,

while for the external history of the period Professor Ramsay's *Church in the Roman Empire* has been found invaluable. In treating of the theology of Ignatius the writer has found much that is suggestive in the able monograph of Von der Goltz (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, Bd. xii.), although he has not always been able to subscribe to the author's conclusions.

The writer is indebted to Dr. Swete, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, for much kind advice ungrudgingly given; to the committee of the S.P.C.K. for the interest they have shown in the work, and for some useful criticisms; to the Rev. W. L. E. Parsons, of Selwyn College, who has read through the translation, and to others.

NOTE TO THE SECOND EDITION

A few slight changes and additions have been made both in the introduction and in the notes; but in its main features the present edition is a reprint of the former.

NOTE TO THE THIRD EDITION

The call for a fresh edition of this little book, which is now set up in a new form, has rendered necessary a more thorough revision of the introduction and notes than was possible in preparing it for the second edition. In the eighteen years which have elapsed since its first appearance new light has been thrown on many of the questions dealt with. Several of the notes have been re-written and also certain sections of the introduction. A new Additional Note, in place of the original Add. Note 2, has been inserted, in which the question of the Christian Ministry has been more fully dealt with. On the other hand, a few curtailments have been made elsewhere. In other respects the present edition is a reprint of the earlier edition.

J. H. S.

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ST. IGNATIUS

INTRODUCTION.

I. THE LITERARY CONTROVERSY UPON THE IGNATIAN EPISTLES.

AROUND the letters bearing the name of St. Ignatius there has been waged a literary controversy that has extended from the time of the revival of learning to the nineteenth century. The subject is of special interest to Englishmen, as the discussion of the genuineness of these letters found a place in the religious controversies of England in the seventeenth century, and the decision of the question has on three occasions been associated with the names of English scholars, *i.e.* Archbishop Ussher and Bishop Pearson in the seventeenth century, and Bishop Lightfoot in the nineteenth century. During the Middle Ages there were current in Europe seventeen letters connected with the name of St. Ignatius. Four of these embrace the spurious correspondence with St. John and the Virgin. They include—

- (i) Two letters from Ignatius to St. John.
- (ii) A letter from Ignatius to the Virgin.
- (iii) A letter from the Virgin to Ignatius.

The letters only exist in Latin, and were most probably composed in that language. An attempt has been made to claim the authority of St. Bernard in support of their genuineness, because in one of his sermons he says that Ignatius ‘saluteth a certain Mary in several epistles, which he wrote to her, as Christ-bearer.’ But the word

quandam,¹ 'a certain (one),' shows that he is speaking of some less famous person than the Virgin, the reference being, doubtless, to Mary of Cassobola, to whom one of the letters of the Long Form is addressed. As the object of the forger was undoubtedly to do honour to the Virgin, Lightfoot is inclined to connect the letters with the outburst of Mariolatry which took place in the eleventh and following centuries. The forgery was speedily disposed of as soon as the revival of the study of antiquity began.

The remaining thirteen epistles, known as the Longer Form, include a longer version of the seven letters of the present collection, together with six additional letters, *i. e.* Mary of Cassobola to Ignatius, Ignatius to Mary of Cassobola, to the Tarsians, to the Philippians, to the Antiochenes, and to Hero. This Longer Form is contained in several Greek MSS. and also in a Latin version of which the MSS. are numerous. The six additional letters are also found attached to the seven letters of the present collection not only in the Greek MSS., but also in the Latin, Syriac, Armenian and Coptic translations. The Latin version was printed in 1498, and was followed in 1557 by the publication of the Greek text. Neither of these editions contained the letter of Mary of Cassobola to Ignatius, which appeared, however, in subsequent editions.

It was not long before the suspicions of students were aroused. They could not fail to be struck by the wide divergence of the text of Ignatius in the current editions from the quotations of early Christian writers, such as Eusebius (c. A.D. 310—325) and Theodoret (A.D. 446).

It was noticed further that Eusebius only makes mention of seven letters, and that no others but these are referred to by Christian writers for some considerable period after the time of Eusebius. Internal evidence confirmed these suspicions by pointing out obvious anachronisms and mistakes in the letters. At the same time the prejudices

¹ The omission of this word in some MSS. assisted the misconception of the passage. But there is no doubt that it forms a part of the true text.

of Protestant writers, and especially of those who favoured Presbyterian views, were excited against the letters, because their presentation of Church order conflicted with their own views. On the one hand it was recognized by the Jesuit Petavius, that the epistles were interpolated, and on the other hand many Protestant writers were prepared to believe that they included some genuine letters of Ignatius. Vedelius, a professor at Geneva, published an edition of the letters in 1623, in which he attempted to separate the genuine from the spurious letters. The seven letters mentioned by Eusebius were placed in one class, and the remaining five, which he regarded as spurious, were formed into a second class. He also maintained that the seven letters contained interpolations, and in proof of this he showed that the interpolator had made use of extracts from the Apostolical Constitutions.

The genuineness of the Long Form was commonly accepted by English writers of eminence before Ussher's time, and we find the letters in that form quoted by Hooker and Bishop Andrewes. The question, however, was prominently brought forward by the controversies of the day. Episcopacy was being vehemently attacked by the Puritans. This attack reached its climax in the famous Smectymnuus controversy (so called from the initials of the names of the five Presbyterian divines), in which Bishop Hall defended, and the Presbyterians attacked, the government of the Church by bishops. In this controversy Ussher was induced to take a part. In his pamphlet *The Original of Bishops and Metropolitans*, he made use of the evidence of the Ignatian epistles, carefully confining, however, his quotations to the passages in which the interpolated version agrees with the genuine text. Ussher's pamphlet was replied to by the poet Milton in his treatise *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*, published in 1641. He attacks the genuineness of the Ignatian epistles and says, 'To what end then should they cite him as authentic for episcopacy, when they cannot know what is authentic of him?' But Ussher had already engaged in the task of rescuing the genuine

epistles from the interpolated and spurious additions of the current text. He had examined the quotations of Ignatius found in the writings of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln (c. A.D. 1250), and two other English writers, John Tyssington and William Wodeford, who wrote in the fourteenth century and were members of the Franciscan house at Oxford, to which Grosseteste left his books. These quotations, he found, differed from the common text of Ignatius and agreed with the quotations found in Eusebius and Theodoret. This led him to conclude that there might exist somewhere in England manuscripts containing this purer text of the epistles. The result was the discovery of two Latin MSS. of the epistles. The first of these was found in the library of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. This MS., of which Ussher procured a transcript, was written by Walter Crome, D.D., a former Fellow, being completed in the year 1441, as we learn from a note in Crome's own handwriting, while another note in the same hand on a fly-leaf states that the MS. was presented to the College in A.D. 1444 'on the feast of St. Hugh.'

The second MS. came from the library of Richard Montague or Montacute, Bishop of Norwich. It has, however, disappeared since Ussher's time, although we possess a collation of its readings contained between the lines or in the margin of Ussher's transcript of the Caius MS. This transcript is now in the library of Dublin University.

Of these two MSS. the second appears to be the earlier and the more accurate. In fact Lightfoot thinks that it closely represents the version as it came from the translator. Ussher found that the quotations of Ignatius in the works of Grosseteste were taken from the Latin version preserved in these two MSS., and further study led him to believe that Grosseteste was himself the translator. Such a view is consistent with the interest shown by the great Bishop of Lincoln in Greek learning and in the translation of Greek authors. Moreover we know that among the books of which Grosseteste caused a translation to be made were the writings of Dionysius

the Areopagite. These appear frequently bound up in the same MS. as the Ignatian epistles. In recent times there has been more direct confirmation of Ussher's view. This is supplied by a note in a fourteenth-century MS. in the library at Tours, attributing the Latin translation to Grosseteste.

Ussher published his shorter Latin text in 1644. But as yet the Greek text corresponding to this shorter Latin version had not appeared. This link was supplied two years later by the publication at Amsterdam by Isaac Voss of the Greek text of six out of the seven letters, the epistle to the Romans being missing. This Greek text was based upon an eleventh-century MS. in the Medicean library at Florence. Finally the Greek text of the missing epistle to the Romans was published by Ruinart in 1689 from a MS. of the tenth century, now in the National Library at Paris. The MS. contains the Greek Acts of the martyrdom of Ignatius, and the epistle to the Romans is incorporated in them. Ussher's labours thus enabled students to recognize the genuine epistles of Ignatius, and to separate from these the interpolated portions, as well as the spurious epistles, found in the Longer Form.

But the publication by Voss of the Greek text of the seven epistles led to a new controversy set on foot by the French Puritans, who attacked the epistles because of the support which they lent to episcopacy. The most formidable opponent was Daillé, whose work appeared in 1666. This new attack was concentrated upon the seven letters as published by Voss. The attack was met, and the genuineness of the letters vindicated by Bishop Pearson, who wrote his *Vindiciæ Ignatiæ* in 1672.

The next important date in the Ignatian controversy was the year 1845, when Canon Cureton published a Syriac version of the epistles to St. Polycarp, the Ephesians, and the Romans. The three epistles contained in this version appear in a much shorter form than is found in the Greek text and Latin version. A fragment of the epistle to the Trallians is incorporated in the epistle to the Romans, but none of the other epistles

appear in the collection. The text of Cureton's edition was based upon two MSS. in the British Museum. The former of these two MSS. dates from the sixth century. It was purchased by Archdeacon Tattam from the convent of St. Mary Deipara in the Nitrian desert in 1839. The second MS. dates from the seventh or eighth century, and was brought from Egypt by Archdeacon Tattam in 1842. Cureton maintained that these three epistles alone represented the genuine Ignatius, that the Vossian collection contained these three in an interpolated form, and that the remaining four letters of the Vossian collection were forgeries. This rekindled the controversy. Dr. Christopher Wordsworth, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, declared the newly-discovered version to be an epitome of the genuine letters made by an Eutychian heretic. This led Cureton to a fuller treatment of the question. He had meanwhile discovered an additional MS. of the three epistles, brought, like the first-named, from the convent of St. Mary Deipara, and dating from at least the ninth century. He now published his great work *Corpus Ignatianum* (London, 1849), which contains a full treatment of the whole question. Cureton's view was supported by Bunsen and several eminent scholars. But it has failed to hold its ground. Apart from the fact that the seven letters of the Vossian collection were plainly known to Eusebius and Theodoret, they exhibit a perfect unity of authorship and style throughout. Cureton's theory requires us to suppose that the interpolator was able to reproduce in his additions to the letters the most subtle characteristics of language and grammar. A similar difficulty occurs when we examine the relation of Cureton's Syriac version to the Syriac version of the seven letters. The one is plainly derived from the other, and it is far more probable that the Curetonian Syriac version is an abridged form of the Syriac version of the seven letters, than that the latter is an expansion of the former.

The works of Zahn (*Ignatius von Antiochien*, 1873) and of Bishop Lightfoot (*Apostolic Fathers*, Part II., *Ignatius and Polycarp*, 1885) have convincingly demon-

strated the genuineness of the seven letters in the form edited by Voss, as against the claims of the Curetonian letters, and this conclusion has been generally accepted by modern scholars.

The author of the Long Form probably wrote in Syria in the latter half of the fourth century. He has been identified by Harnack and Funk with the compiler of the Apostolic Constitutions. His doctrinal position is not altogether clear. Funk regards him as an Apollinarian, Lightfoot as slightly leaning to Arianism. His object appears to have been to present, in the name of a primitive father, a conciliatory statement of doctrine to which men of all parties might assent (Lightfoot).

The Curetonian Syriac version is probably due to the careless abridgment of the letters by some scribe, and represents 'neither epitome nor extract, but something between the two.'¹ Lightfoot is inclined to assign it to the sixth century.

2. GENUINENESS AND DATE.

'THERE are no epistles in early Christian literature whose existence receives such early and excellent attestation as does that of the Ignatian epistles from the epistle of Polycarp' (Harnack, *Chronologie*, p. 400). The epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians was written some few weeks after the letters of Ignatius, and before the news of the martyrdom of Ignatius had reached Smyrna. It contains two references to Ignatius (cc. 9, 13). In the latter passage the writer says: 'The letters of Ignatius sent to us by him, and all the rest which we had by us, we have sent to you, as you enjoined. They are attached to this letter.' This description corresponds with our present collection. Two letters were addressed to Smyrna, one to the Church, the other to Polycarp. Four others were written from Smyrna. The bearer of the letter to the Philadelphians, which was written from Troas, would probably pass through Smyrna. Thus it would be possible for copies of all the letters to be in

¹ Lightfoot, I. p. 325.

Polycarp's possession, and the interchange of letters, which was already common in the churches in St. Paul's day (Col. iv. 16), would render the request of the Philippians and Polycarp's compliance natural. See further, Lightfoot, vol. i. pp. 336, 423 f.

St. Irenæus (c. 180 A.D.) quotes from Rom. 4. See v. 28. 4: 'As one of our own people said, when condemned to the wild beasts on account of his testimony towards God, "I am God's grain, and I am ground by the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be found pure bread."' "

Lightfoot and Harnack both refer to passages in Clement of Alexandria (c. 190—210), which they think point to an acquaintance with these epistles.

Origen, before the middle of the third century, shows clearly a knowledge of these epistles and their author. Thus in *de Orat.* 20, he appropriates the language of Rom. 3: "Nothing that is visible is good." This, however, may have been a proverbial expression. But in two passages he claims to be quoting the very words of Ignatius—

(i) In the Prologue to the *Commentary on the Song of Songs* (extant in the version of Rufinus) he says: 'I remember that some one of the saints, Ignatius by name, said of Christ, "My love is crucified," nor do I think him deserving of censure for this.' See Rom. 7.

(ii) In *Hom. vi. in Lucam*, he quotes from Eph. 19, introducing the quotation by a reference to the letters and their author. His words are: 'Well is it written in one of the letters of a certain martyr, Ignatius I mean, who was second bishop of Antioch after the blessed Peter, and who in the persecution fought with wild beasts at Rome.' Then follow the words, 'Hidden from the prince of this world was the virginity of Mary' (Eph. 19). Origen thus clearly knew that—

(i) Ignatius was second bishop of Antioch.

(ii) He suffered martyrdom at Rome.

(iii) He wrote some epistles which were extant in Origen's time.

Eusebius of Cæsarea (c. 310—325) in his *Chronicle*

states that Ignatius was second bishop of Antioch, and was martyred in the reign of Trajan. In his *Ecclesiastical History* (iii. 22, 36) he shows an exact and detailed knowledge of Ignatius, his journey, his letters, the churches to which he wrote, and the tradition of his martyrdom at Rome. He also quotes from the epistles to the Romans and Smyrnæans, and elsewhere (*Quæst. ad Stephan. i.*) from Ephesians.

From the time of Eusebius there is full and varied evidence of the existence of the letters. The Syriac Version was in existence at the close of the fourth century, and an Armenian Version, translated from the Syriac, in the fifth century or rather later.

Internally the letters bear clear evidence of the early date at which they were written.

1. The heresies attacked show plainly that the author had not in view the great Gnostic sects connected with Marcion, Basilides, or Valentinus. He shows no sign of attacking their distinctive systems, but on the contrary uses in certain places language which would have been unguarded and liable to be misunderstood if used by a later writer. See esp. Magn. 8 (note). In that passage, before the correct reading was pointed out, it was urged that Ignatius was attacking the Valentinian teaching upon Σιγή or 'Silence.' The true reading disposes of that view, but uses language which no orthodox writer would have ventured upon, if living at a time when the Valentinian heresy was rife. On the early nature of the heresies attacked, see Add. Note 1. These facts point to a date earlier than A.D. 140.

2. In several passages Ignatius appears to be repeating stereotyped expressions drawn from the Church tradition of his time. Whether they are derived from simple liturgical forms or Church teaching it is difficult to say. Harnack has drawn attention to them in an article in the *Expositor* for December 1885. Many of these creed-like passages exhibit in their form great antiquity. Thus the words, 'of the race (or seed) of David' (Eph. 18, 20, Trall. 9, Rom. 7, Smyrn. 1), the mention (Smyrn. 1) of 'Herod the tetrarch' side by side

with Pontius Pilate (cf. Acts iv. 27, also Justin, *Dial.* 103, but absent from later writers), the inclusion of the baptism of Jesus by John (Eph. 18, Smyrn. 1), when compared with the oldest form of the Apostles' Creed, from which these clauses are absent, point to a period quite early in the second century.

3. The relation of these epistles to the books of the New Testament is a further indication of their early date. The manner in which the Gospel facts and sayings are quoted points to an early period at which the written Gospels had not attained the unique pre-eminence held by them later on in the second century. There is no reference in the epistles to written Gospels, and in one case the author quotes from an extra-canonical source. See Smyrn. 3. This would show that oral tradition was still appealed to.

4. Lightfoot sees a further indication of early date in the passage Smyrn. 8, from which he concludes that the Eucharist still formed part of the Agape, whereas in Justin's time (*Ap.* i. 65, 67) the two were separate. But this interpretation of Smyrn. 8 is open to criticism (see note on passage), and the argument cannot be pressed.

The objections to the genuineness of these epistles are mainly concerned with their presentation of Church government and their witness to episcopacy. But the organization, as here presented, while it exhibits monarchical episcopacy as fully established, and regards the bishop as the source of all ministerial authority,¹ also shows indications of its early date.

1. The picture presented of the bishop points to an early period when the area over which he exercised his rule was the congregation rather than the diocese, and when he was 'the pastor of a flock, like a vicar of a modern town, in intimate relations with all his people.'² Hence too we find that the body of presbyters are in immediate and regular contact with him and assist him as a 'council'³ in the work of administration.

¹ Smyrn. 8.

² Gore, *Church and Ministry*, p. 104.

³ Magn. 6, Trall. 3, Philad. 8.

2. A study of the types of authority to which Ignatius likens the authority of the bishop and the presbyters also affords an indication of early date. The fact that he regards the bishop as the representative of the Lord, while the presbyters represent the Apostles, indicates that he is writing at a time when the memory of the Lord's earthly life was fresh in the minds of men. In the bishop's office he sees a type of authority like that which was in the world when Christ went about in His ministry attended by the Apostles.

3. Had these epistles been forged in the latter half of the second century, as Renan supposed, we should have expected them to reflect the conception of the ministry which is prominent in Christian writings of that period. Now in the writers of the latter half of the second century we find the bishops continually appealed to as the depositaries of Apostolic tradition. The bishops have received from the Apostles 'the gift of truth.' This conception is found in the Clementine writings, in Hegesippus and in Irenæus. But it is not the conception upon which the Ignatian epistles dwell. Yet if these letters had been written in the latter half of the second century it is unlikely that his language would have shown so little trace of the ideas current at that time.

The other objections urged on the ground of supposed anachronisms, such as the word 'leopard' (Rom. 5) and the phrase 'Catholic Church' (Smyrn. 8), are dealt with in the notes.

Each of the letters exhibits the same clearly marked individuality, and is connected by close and subtle links with the others. The Epistle to the Romans, however, stands apart from the others. It is of a purely personal character and deals with his coming martyrdom. Hence it contains no allusion to the subjects which occupy so large an amount of attention in other epistles, viz Church order and heresy. Its silence on these points is of value in refuting the idea that the letters are a late forgery having as their object the promotion of Episcopacy. On that assumption it is difficult to see why the'

letter should have been included in a collection having such an object. To escape this difficulty Renan admitted the genuineness of the Epistle to the Romans. But in its style the epistle shows clear traces of the same authorship as the others, and it is impossible to separate them.

The epistles present a striking and original personality, surpassing in interest that of any other of the so-called Apostolic Fathers. The creation of such a character would have been a literary feat quite beyond the reach of a forger in the second or any following century.

The year of the martyrdom of Ignatius can only be fixed within rough limits. Eusebius, as we have seen, states that Ignatius was martyred in the time of Trajan. — Origen's statement that he was second bishop of Antioch and fought with wild beasts at Rome 'during the persecution,' probably shows that he was acquainted with the same tradition and refers to the persecution under Trajan, for, as Harnack has shown (*Chronologie*, p. 404), the date of the second bishop of Antioch cannot well be much later than that of the second bishop of Jerusalem, Simeon, who suffered martyrdom in the reign of Trajan (A.D. 98—117).

— Harnack finds another indication of the date in the relations of Ignatius to Polycarp. In the epistle addressed to the latter, Ignatius plainly shows that he is writing to one who is a comparatively young man. At the time of his death Polycarp's age was eighty-six (*Mart. Polyc.* 9). This was in A.D. 155-6, and Polycarp would be between forty and fifty between A.D. 110-120.

Hence the date of the letters and the martyrdom may be fixed between A.D. 110—117.

3. ST. IGNATIUS THE MARTYR.

OF the author of these epistles we possess little reliable information beyond what may be gathered from the epistles themselves. The Italian name Ignatius combined with the Greek title Theophorus may indicate, as

Professor Ramsay¹ suggests, that 'he belonged to a Syrian family, strongly affected by Western civilization, which had discarded native names.' It is clear from the nature of his punishment that he cannot have been a Roman citizen, in which case he would have been sent, like St. Paul, to Rome for trial, and, if condemned, would have been beheaded. From the scattered hints which the letters give, *e.g.* Rom. 9, 'born out of due time,' and the expression, 'last (of all),' found in Eph. 21, Trall. 13, Smyrn. 11, we may conclude that his conversion was late in life. From Origen and Eusebius (see preceding section) we have learnt that he was second bishop of Antioch, being preceded by Euodius, and that he suffered martyrdom in the time of Trajan. The Acts recording his martyrdom exist in two forms, the Antiochene and Roman Acts, but both are quite late and untrustworthy. With their rejection we are left without any knowledge of the circumstances of his trial and condemnation, and the oft-quoted interview with Trajan becomes destitute of authority. From the epistles themselves we infer that Ignatius, like other martyrs before him (Eph. 12), who had been condemned to the beasts by the provincial governors, was being sent to Rome to suffer in the arena of the Coliseum. This great amphitheatre, built by the Flavian emperors, was the scene of these brutal sports on a gigantic scale, and it is a well-attested fact that criminals from the provinces were used for this purpose.² From Polyc. *Phil.* 1, 9 we gather that other prisoners accompanied Ignatius, at least during a portion of his journey. His escort consisted of a maniple of soldiers, whom on account of their harsh treatment he compares to 'ten leopards' (Rom. 5). His letters reveal the true martyr-spirit. He declares that he is a willing victim.³ His death will speak more clearly to the world than ever his words have done in life. 'If you be silent and leave me alone,' he writes to the Romans, 'I shall

¹ *Ch. in R. Empire*, p. 440, note.

² See Ramsay, *Ch. in R. Empire*, p. 317

³ Rom. 4.

become a word of God, but, if you desire my flesh, then shall I be again a mere cry.'¹ To the people of Smyrna he says, 'Near to the sword, near to God; in company with wild beasts, in company with God. Only let it be in the name of Jesus Christ, so that we may suffer together with Him.'² 'It is,' he writes to Polycarp, 'the part of a great athlete to suffer blows and be victorious.'³ The route taken by his guards was probably overland by the Syrian and Cilician Gates to Smyrna, Troas, and Philippi, and thence to Rome. At some point in the journey the road branched in two directions, the southern route following the line of the great trade highway through Tralles, Magnesia, and Ephesus, while the more northern lay through Philadelphia and Sardis. The latter was the route followed by the Roman guards, and after a stay at Philadelphia (Philad. 1, 6, 7, 8), Ignatius reached Smyrna, where he was hospitably received by the Church and its bishop, Polycarp. Meanwhile messengers appear to have informed the churches lying on the southern route of the martyr's approaching visit to Smyrna, and accordingly delegates were sent to Smyrna to meet him from Ephesus, Magnesia, and Tralles. Their arrival appears to have greatly cheered Ignatius, and he accordingly addressed a letter to each of the churches from which they came, acknowledging their attentions and giving them practical counsel upon the dangers to which they were exposed.⁴ At the same time he wrote a letter to the Church at Rome. The Roman Christians had heard of his journey from certain members of the Syrian church who had preceded him (Rom. 10), and he fears that some of their more influential members may exert themselves to procure a respite. He entreats them not to hinder him from 'attaining unto God,' and expresses in exuberant and passionate language his desire for martyrdom. The next halting-place at which we hear of him is Troas, from which he wrote the three remaining letters, to the Philadelphians, to the Smyrnæans,

¹ Rom. 2.² Smyrn. 4.³ Polyc. 3.⁴ On the heresies attacked, see Add. Note I.

and to Polycarp. All these letters were written after he had received the news that the persecution in Syria had ceased. He accordingly asks that delegates should be sent to Antioch with congratulations. From Polyc. 8 we learn that he was on the point of sailing to Neapolis. The next mention of him is in Polycarp's letter to the Philippians (cc. 9, 13), in which he asks for tidings of Ignatius, who had passed through their city. Polycarp also states that he is sending them, at their request, a packet of the letters of Ignatius. This is the last we hear of him. His fame as a martyr spread through the East, and his letters were translated into Syriac, Armenian, and Coptic. Around his life and death there grew a wealth of legend. His name 'Theophorus' gave rise to two such legends. One of these, not found before the end of the ninth century, evidently understands the name to mean 'the God-borne,' and represents Ignatius as the child whom our Lord took in His arms (Mark ix. 36, 37).

Another story, which comes from the Western Church and had a much more limited circulation, is founded upon the other sense of the name Theophorus, 'God-bearer.' It is narrated by Vincent of Beauvais, who tells us that 'when his heart was cut into small pieces, the name of the Lord Jesus Christ was found inscribed in golden letters on every single piece, as we read; for he had said that he had Christ in his heart.'

Various traditions connect him with one or other of the Apostles. Theodoret speaks of him as having 'received the grace of the high-priesthood at the hand of the great Peter.' In the Apostolic Constitutions he is represented as having been ordained by St. Paul. Another and more widely-spread tradition represented him as a disciple of St. John.

A story is told us of the episcopate of Ignatius by the historian Socrates, who wrote c. A.D. 440. He narrates (*H. E.* vi. 8) how Ignatius 'saw a vision of angels, praising the Holy Trinity in antiphonal hymns, and left the fashion of his vision as a custom to the Church at Antioch.' Lightfoot thinks that this tradition may be

traced to his language in such passages as Trall. 5, in which he speaks of his power to grasp heavenly things and the orders of angels, and also to his language in Eph. 4, Rom. 2, where he bids his readers form into a chorus and sing to the Father through Jesus Christ.

The Acts of his martyrdom¹ gave currency in East and West to the story of his interview with the Emperor Trajan, a story which, as we have seen, has no independent authority apart from the spurious Acts in which it is contained. The same Acts in like manner perpetuated the varying traditions of East and West as to the disposal of the reliques. In the latter part of the fourth century his festival was kept in Syria and Greece on October 17, and the grave containing his reliques was shown in the Christian cemetery at Antioch. It was on one of these anniversaries that the great preacher, Chrysostom, while a presbyter at Antioch, delivered an oration on the martyr, in which he shows evident tokens of a belief in the translation of the reliques from Rome to Antioch. In the fifth century the reliques were transferred with great pomp, by order of the Emperor, the younger Theodosius, to the old Temple of Fortune, known henceforth as the Church of Ignatius. The date of his festival came to be transferred to December 20th, which was probably the date of the translation of the reliques to their new resting-place. In later times this anniversary was kept as a public festival at Antioch, and was celebrated with rites of great magnificence.

In the West, December 17th was at first kept as the day of the martyrdom, but finally this date was assigned to the translation of the reliques, and the festival of the martyrdom was kept on February 1st.

4. ST. IGNATIUS AS A TEACHER.

THE splendid example of the Christian martyr-spirit was not the only legacy of Ignatius to the Church. In the epistles which have come down to us he has presented to us the picture of a lofty, spiritual character,

¹ On these Acts of the martyrdom, see Add. Note 3.

and has bequeathed to us a body of teaching, which has given him a foremost place among the 'Apostolic Fathers.'

The doctrinal and controversial interest of his writings must not be allowed to obscure the profoundly spiritual character which lies behind them. The letters abound in maxims and in passages of great spiritual beauty. They present to us a man, who has a keen insight into the practical significance of the Incarnation and the fresh, spiritual value which it has given to material things. He can say even of the simple events of daily life, 'Those things which you do after the flesh are spiritual, for you do all things in Jesus Christ.'¹ Though he is the uncompromising champion of Church order and the ministry, we find him saying, 'Let not office puff up any man, for faith and love are all in all.'² Amid all his insistence upon outward unity, he does not forget to remind us that the inner principle of union is God Himself.³ So again, he loves to dwell on the 'silence' of God's working.⁴ To Ignatius, Christ and His Cross are all in all. In the Passion of Jesus Christ lies the power which draws his heart from all earthly longings.⁵ Hence his one aspiration, expressed again and again, is 'that I may attain unto God.' And yet throughout there breathes a deep spirit of humility. He is 'one born out of due time,'⁶ 'the last (of all).'⁷ Though at the close of a long career, he writes, 'Now I am beginning to be a disciple.'⁸ mb

His teaching reflects the natural character and circumstances of its author. Thus the deep vein of mysticism which pervades these letters may be partly due to the intense and fervid Oriental character of the writer. Again, the influences of heathen training show themselves to some degree in the form in which he apprehended Christianity. The idea of union with God, and the conception of redemption as deliverance from death

¹ Eph. 8.

³ Trall. II.

⁵ See Rom. 7.

⁷ Eph. 21, Trall. 13, Rom. 9.

² Smyrn. 6.

⁴ Eph. 15, 19.

⁶ Rom. 9.

⁸ Eph. 3.

and the power of demons, present points of contact with the religious ideas of the heathen world, as we know it in the first and second centuries, and are such as would naturally attract a convert from heathenism. And further, if we could trust the later tradition, which is not impossible so far as dates are concerned (though worthless in itself), that St. John was the teacher of Ignatius, we should find a natural explanation of the close relationship between his thought and that of the Johannine writings.

As compared with later teaching, the theology of Ignatius, like that of the other 'Apostolic Fathers,' exhibits in some respects an immature and undeveloped character. It was only slowly that men came to sound the depths of the teaching of St. Paul and St. John, and to grasp the eternal relations of the truths revealed in time. Hence we find in Ignatius a use of doctrinal terms, which would have been avoided by the more exact theology of a later age. Instances are the phrases, 'the blood of God,'¹ 'the passion of my God,'² and the word 'unoriginate,'³ which, as applied to our Lord, might seem to deny the Eternal Generation. There is also an absence of any references to the work of the Son of God in the world before the Incarnation (except, perhaps, in Magn. 8), and of the doctrine of His agency in Creation such as we find in St. Paul. While Ignatius applies to Him the title 'Logos' or 'Word,'⁴ and elsewhere speaks of Him as 'the Mind of the Father,'⁵ and 'the unerring Mouth whereby the Father spake ;'⁶ while, moreover, he asserts the Divine Sonship, and once uses the phrase, 'the Only Son,'⁷ yet he nowhere speaks of the eternal relations of this Divine Sonship to the Fatherhood of God, beyond the mere fact of the Son's pre-existence with the Father.⁸ How far the human nature was complete, whether Christ had a human soul, how the two natures are united in One Person, these are questions which lie outside the scope

¹ Eph. 1.² Rom. 6.³ Eph. 7.⁴ Magn. 8.⁵ Eph. 3.⁶ Rom. 8.⁷ Rom. inscr.⁸ Polyc. 3, Magn. 6.

and grasp of the teaching of Ignatius. Nor again do the epistles present us with a theology of the Cross, or attempt to sound the depths of St. Paul's teaching upon the Death of Christ. The idea of 'justification' is found only in two passages, *i.e.* Rom. 5 and Philad. 8, and only in the latter of these is it used in connection with the Passion. The word 'propitiation' does not occur, and there is only one mention of 'forgiveness' in connection with repentance, in Philad. 8. It is not maintained that Ignatius ignored the teaching associated with such language. His repeated references to the Cross and Passion imply the contrary. But his particular contribution to Christian thought and teaching lay in another direction, and he was content accordingly to repeat, without developing, the simple language of his time upon the Death of Christ.

Such are some of the limits within which the teaching of these epistles moves. But when we come to their positive contents, we find that they witness to a Church tradition which is singularly full and varied, and, above all, they present a view of the Person of Jesus Christ, which is richer and more complete than anything to be found in the writings of the other 'Apostolic Fathers.'

With regard to the former of these, the witness of the epistles to the Church tradition of their time, we may quote the language of Dr. Harnack (*Chronologie*, p. xi). Speaking of the epistles of St. Clement and St. Ignatius, he says: 'He who diligently studies these letters cannot fail to perceive what a fulness of traditions, subjects of preaching, doctrines, and forms of organization already existed in the time of Trajan, and in individual churches had attained a secure position.' Among the contents of this Church tradition, we may notice the reference to the Threenfold Name in Magn. 13 (cf. Eph. 9, Philad. inscr.). When we come to the historical facts of the Lord's earthly life, we find, first of all, a clear and emphatic witness to the Virgin-birth. 'The virginity of Mary and her child-bearing' formed two of the 'three mysteries,' 'wrought in the silence of God,' but now 'to be

proclaimed aloud.'¹ Against the Docetic heretics he is never weary of emphasizing, in language that presents the appearance of being derived either from liturgical formulæ or short creed-like statements,² the Virgin-birth, the Davidic descent, the baptism by John, the crucifixion under Pontius Pilate and Herod the tetrarch, and the resurrection. See esp. the two passages, Trall. 9, Smyrn. 1, 2. He mentions the star seen at the birth of Jesus Christ,³ and dwells upon the intercourse of the Lord, after His Resurrection, with the Apostles.⁴ Of interest too is the reference to the descent into Hades in Magn. 9 (cf. Philad. 5, 9). He nowhere speaks of the actual fact of the Ascension, although it is presupposed in Magn. 7. But, for the purposes which he had in hand, it did not possess the same immediate interest as the facts of the Birth, Passion, and Resurrection, which witness to the reality of the Lord's human nature. The references to the Second Coming of the Lord are very slight. See Eph. 15, and compare the expression in Rom. 10, 'patient abiding for Jesus Christ.' Ignatius speaks of the Holy Spirit in language which plainly shows that he regarded Him as distinct from the Father and the Son. Cf. Magn. 13. He speaks of Him as 'from God,'⁵ and regards the miraculous conception of Jesus Christ as wrought through His agency.⁶ Elsewhere he dwells upon His work of sanctification in the Church. See especially the striking passage in Eph. 9, and cf. Philad. inscr., Magn. 13. In Philad. 7, Ignatius claims to have received personal revelations from the Spirit.

In two passages Ignatius refers to ordinances of the Apostles. In Magn. 13 the readers are bidden to stand fast 'in the ordinances of the Lord and the Apostles.' In Trall. 7 they are urged to be 'inseparable from Jesus Christ and the bishop, and the ordinances of the Apostles.'

When we come to examine the relation of these letters to the Canon of Scripture, we find very strong traces of

¹ Eph. 19.

⁴ Smyrn. 3.

² See p. 17.

⁵ Philad. 7.

³ Eph. 19.

⁶ Eph. 18.

the influence of the thoughts and ideas preserved for us in the books of the New Testament, but comparatively few traces of actual quotation from any of the writers of the New Testament. The cast of thought shows strong affinities with the ideas of the Johannine writings and the later epistles of St. Paul, especially St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. But it is difficult to prove that Ignatius is in any passage quoting from the Fourth Gospel. The contrasts between life and death, God and the prince of this world, and the emphasis on knowledge and faith, truth and love, move in the same circles of ideas as the Fourth Gospel. Again, the reference to Christ as 'the Door' (Philad. 9), the phrases 'the bread of God,' 'living water' (Rom. 7), lastly the words in Philad. 7, 'the Spirit is from God. For it knoweth whence it cometh and whither it goeth,' present striking parallels to the language of the Gospel, and suggest that either Ignatius was familiar with the Gospel, or that he had lived in surroundings where the ideas and teaching represented in our present Gospel were current. Lastly, there is the possibility already referred to above (p. 26), that Ignatius had been a disciple of St. John. For the suggested parallel with John xii. 3 found in Eph. 17, see note on that passage. The allusions of Ignatius to the actions and words of the Lord exhibit a tradition most closely akin to that found in St. Matthew's Gospel, with which these epistles exhibit more numerous parallels than with any other N. T. writing. In no passage does he allude definitely to written gospels, though Philad. 5 seems to point to a collection of apostolic writings. In one instance¹ he quotes from an apocryphal source, whether written or traditional we cannot tell. For the passage Eph. 19, see notes. With the epistles of St. Paul there are many parallels pointing to the author's acquaintance with them, though without actual quotation. In Eph. 12 the author directly speaks of St. Paul and his epistles. For further parallels with books of the New Testament, see Index of Scriptural passages. We may say in con-

¹ Smyrn. 3.

clusion that the epistles point to a period in which the New Testament writings, though current, had not superseded the oral tradition of the Church, as an authority and standard of teaching.

For his attitude towards the Old Testament, see Magn. 8—10, Philad. 5, 8, 9, with notes.

Ignatius' conception of the Christian faith is more striking than that of any sub-apostolic writer. He starts not from Creation or the Old Testament but from the revelation of God in Christ. In Christ's appearing God has revealed Himself in man, the Eternal in time, the Spiritual in the material.¹ The antithesis of 'spirit' and 'flesh,' which is conceived of as reconciled in Christ, runs through the whole theology of Ignatius.² The whole earthly life of Christ has a place in the mystery of redemption, which has a significance for the whole Creation.³ Thus he speaks of 'the virginity of Mary, and her child-bearing, likewise also the death of the Lord,' as 'three mysteries to be proclaimed aloud.'⁴ It is the Person and not merely the teaching of Christ, which is of importance. He is 'our God,' 'my God,' 'God in man,' though never apparently called God absolutely without some defining words.⁵ The controversial purpose of the letters leads Ignatius to lay special stress upon the reality of the human nature of Christ. The Docetæ, whom he is attacking, conceived of the existence of Christ in a purely metaphysical way, as a spiritual or ideal existence. Against this view Ignatius sets the historical Christ, whose appearing in human form becomes the medium of God's revelation and alone guarantees its truth to man. Hence he emphasizes the facts of His earthly life. The Coming of the Saviour, His Passion and His Resurrection are the three points which distinguish the Gospel from all earlier teaching.⁶ Through the Cross, Death, and Resurrection

¹ See esp. Eph. 7, Polyc. 3.

² Cf. Eph. 8, Magn. 1, 13, Polyc. 2.

³ Trall. 9, Smyrn. 6.

⁴ Eph. 19.

⁵ Cf. Eph. inscr., 1, 7, 18, Rom. inscr., Smyrn. 1, Polyc. 8.

⁶ Philad. 9, cf. Magn. 11.

he seeks to be justified.¹ Especially prominent is the place which he assigns to the Passion. In the inscriptions to two letters (Philad., Trall.) he speaks of the Churches addressed, as 'rejoicing in the Passion' and 'at peace in flesh and spirit through the Passion of Jesus Christ.'² The Blood of Christ reveals God's love.³ In Smyrn. 6 he speaks of Christ as suffering 'for our sins,' and in Eph. 18 he associates Baptism with the cleansing power of the Passion.⁴ In addition to these incidental allusions, he shows acquaintance in one passage⁵ with the ideas represented in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Christ is 'the High Priest, Who has been entrusted with the Holy of Holies,' but Ignatius immediately connects this thought with that of Christ as the 'Door' of the Father, a conception which we find in John x. 9. In Philad. 8, 11, he speaks of being delivered from 'every bond,' and being 'ransomed' by the grace of Jesus Christ. In these respects he echoes the traditional language of his time. The ideas, however, which chiefly occupy his thoughts are that the Death and Resurrection of Christ have annihilated death, have freed man from the power of evil,⁶ and have given him the assurance of eternal life through union with God in Christ. Christ, 'our life,'⁷ has passed through death, and life is assured to those who believe in Him and are united with Him. Hence Christians are 'branches of the Cross.'⁸ Thus his teaching presents points of contact with St. John, and with the later, rather than the earlier, teaching of St. Paul. St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians exhibits the nearest point of contact between Ignatius and St. Paul. In this connection notice especially the language of Eph. 19, 20 upon 'the new man,' and of Trall. 11 upon 'the one Body.'

The reconciliation of the antithesis between 'flesh' and 'spirit' through the union of God and man in Christ is realized practically by Christians in the life of faith

¹ Philad. 8.

³ Trall. 8, Rom. 7.

⁵ Philad. 9.

⁷ Eph. 3, Smyrn. 4.

² Cf. Eph. inscr.

⁴ Cf. also Trall. 11, Rom. 6.

⁶ Eph. 19, Philad. 8.

⁸ Trall. 11.

and love.¹ But it finds its fullest expression in the unity of the Church, which represents Christ and shares His life and twofold nature.² Hence the unity of the Church is at once 'of flesh' and 'of spirit.'³ The insistence of Ignatius upon the visible unity of the Church is not adequately explained by the pressure of heresy. That he was led to give special emphasis to it by the dangers of his time is undoubtedly true. But it is plainly a consequence of his belief in the principle of the Incarnation, the reconciliation of the outward and the inward, of 'spirit' and 'flesh,' of 'God' and 'man.' The Catholic Church is the Body of Christ, and secures the perpetual communication of the One Life of Christ.⁴ To impair the unity of the Church by false teaching and separatism is to cut oneself off from the Passion and the sacramental life of the Church.⁵

The individual churches represent locally the universal Church. As Jesus Christ is the Head of the universal Church, so is the bishop the head of the local Church.⁶ He is God's representative,⁷ as being the chief member of the local representation of that Church which is the Body of Christ. Hence the bishops are spoken of as being 'in the mind of Jesus Christ.'⁸ They represent, and carry on that reconciliation of 'flesh' and 'spirit,' which is assured through the Incarnation. Thus Ignatius writes to Polycarp: 'Therefore you are of flesh and spirit, that you may humour the things which are visibly present before your face.'⁹ The ministry in the Ignatian epistles shows a more developed character than that described in the books of the New Testament and the writings of the sub-apostolic age. In the New Testament we find that the administration of the local churches was in the hands of a body of officials who are some-

¹ Eph. 8, 14, Smyrn. 6, 13.

² Smyrn. 1, Eph. 5, 17.

³ Eph. 10, Magn. 1, 13, Rom. inscr., Smyrn. 12, cf. Eph. 7.

⁴ Smyrn. 8, Eph. 5, Trall. 11.

⁵ Philad. 3, Smyrn. 6, 8.

⁶ Smyrn. 8.

⁷ Eph. 6, Magn. 3, Trall. 2, 3.

⁸ Eph. 3, cf. Philad. inscr.

⁹ Polyc. 2.

times spoken of as presbyters and sometimes as 'bishops' (*episcopi*).¹ We find a similar use of terms when we pass beyond the New Testament. The local ministry consists of 'bishops and deacons' (Didache), or 'presbyters and deacons' (Polycarp, *ad Philipp.* 5, 6), while Clement of Rome sometimes speaks of 'presbyters' and sometimes of 'bishops,' when he is referring apparently to the same office. But in no case do we read of a single 'bishop' as the resident head of a local community. On the other hand, in the position of St. James at Jerusalem (Acts xii. 17, xv. 2, xxi. 18) we have what appears to be an anticipation of the functions (though the name does not appear) of the 'bishop' of the Ignatian epistles, seeing that St. James is represented as head or president of a body of presbyters who control the local affairs of the Church and through whom all communications with the Church take place. This position, however, appears to have been peculiar to Jerusalem. Elsewhere the Apostles appear to have exercised a general superintendence over the churches which they had founded, and in the Pastoral Epistles we find Timothy and Titus receiving a commission (probably temporary) from St. Paul to act as 'apostolic delegates' and to ordain clergy and administer discipline in the churches of Ephesus and Crete. In the Didache we hear also of itinerant apostles, prophets, and teachers, who visit the local church, and directions are given that, if a prophet wishes to settle among them, he is to be accorded a position of pre-eminence. At the same time injunctions are given that 'bishops and deacons' are to be held in honour 'for they also minister to you the ministry of prophets and teachers.' In this picture we see a survival of the honour and esteem in which the special gifts of missionary apostles and Christian prophets were held, and a disposition to rank on a lower level the local ministry of office.² But as the Apostles and early missionaries

¹ For a fuller discussion, see Additional Note 2.

² On the value of the testimony of the Didache, see Dean Robinson in *Essays on the Early History of the Church and Ministry*, p. 68.

passed away, and the gift of prophecy became rare,¹ the local ministry absorbed many of the permanent functions exercised by these earlier ministries. These new conditions are reflected in the Ignatian epistles.

(i) There is no trace of the itinerant ministry of apostles and prophets which we find in the *Didache*, and we read only of the local threefold ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons.

(ii) At the head of each church there is a single bishop, who is superior to the presbyters, though closely associated with them. The bishop alone can give the requisite authority for the performance of ministerial acts.² The monarchical character of his office is clearly shown by the comparison of the bishop to 'the Father' or 'Jesus Christ,' while the presbyters represent the Apostles. On this comparison see *antea*, p. 19.

(iii) The bishop's office is localized and he is permanently attached to the local church. Ignatius mentions the bishops of the cities of Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralles, Philadelphia and Smyrna. Of a diocese, in the later sense of the word, there is no trace,³ and the bishop's authority is not, like that of the Apostles, of a general, undefined character, but is limited to a particular church.

Thus in the Ignatian Epistles we find the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons. The bishop's office appears for the first time under the name by which it has since been known in history, although, as we have seen, there is something like an anticipation of the position occupied by him in the presidency of St. James in the Church of Jerusalem.

There are a few other facts which may be noticed about the ministry in the Ignatian Epistles.

¹ Ignatius, however, claims the gift of prophecy in *Philad.* 7. See note.

² *Smyrn.* 8.

³ In *Rom.* 2 Ignatius calls himself 'bishop of Syria,' and elsewhere he refers to the 'Church of Syria' and its connection with himself. Cf. *Eph.* 21, *Magn.* 14, *Rom.* 9, *Trall.* 13. Probably there was only one Christian centre in *Cœle-Syria* at this time, in which case 'Syria' is a synonym of Antioch. See note *Rom.* 2.

1. Closely associated with the bishops, and forming a 'spiritual coronal' about him, are the presbyters, and with them the deacons. The bishop's authority, though monarchical, 'is very far from being autocratic.'¹ In his administration the presbyters form a 'council'² around him as 'the strings to a harp.'³ The writer is scarcely less emphatic in asserting the duty of obedience to the presbyters than he is to the bishop. If the bishop represents the Lord, the presbyters represent the Apostles.⁴ Ignatius bids his readers be subject to the bishop 'as unto the grace of God,' and to the presbytery 'as unto the law of Jesus Christ.'⁵

Similarly he bids his readers obey the deacons. The three orders together form a central authority, so that 'without these there is no church deserving the name.'⁶

2. Ignatius tells us little of the source of the bishop's authority or of the way in which such authority was delegated to him. He speaks of the bishops as representing the authority of Christ, though never as succeeding to the Apostles. On the other hand, he compares the presbyters to the Apostles, though he is thinking of the Apostles in their relation to Christ during His ministry and not as they were after the Ascension, when they themselves became the representatives of Christ.⁷ The only passage in which it has been suggested that Ignatius claims apostolic authority for the bishop's office is Trall. 7, where he urges them to be 'inseparable from Jesus Christ and the bishop and the ordinances of the Apostles.' In this last phrase Lightfoot sees a reference to the institution of episcopacy (see note on the passage). Similarly in Trall. 12 Ignatius bids them 'severally, and especially the presbyters, refresh the bishop to the honour of the Father and of Jesus Christ and of the Apostles.'

3. The language of the epistles does not support the view of Ramsay and others, that episcopacy is insisted

Lightfoot, I, p. 397.

² See *antea*, p. 18.

³ Eph. 4.

⁴ Magn. 6, Trall. 2, 3, Smyrn. 8.

⁵ Magn. 2.

⁶ Trall. 3.

⁷ See Gore, *Church and Ministry*, pp. 303, 304.

on so strongly in these letters because Ignatius recognized it as a new and valuable institution, which he desired to see established everywhere.¹ From other sources, indeed, it would seem that a representative of the episcopal order was not established in every city church at this time, as in the case of Philippi, in writing to which Church Polycarp only makes mention of their presbyters and deacons.² But when we study the Ignatian epistles themselves, we see no trace of an idea that the episcopal office is of recent introduction. The writer speaks of the 'bishops established in the furthest quarters.'³ Without the three orders of bishops, presbyters, and deacons 'there is no church deserving the name.'⁴ Nor can we draw any argument from the absence of any mention of the bishop in the Epistle to the Romans. That epistle is of a purely personal character, and it is written with reference to the action of certain members of the Church of Rome, who were anxious to procure a respite for Ignatius. He nowhere salutes or makes mention of any of the officers of the Church in that city, whether bishop, presbyters, or deacons. Hence no argument can fairly be drawn from the absence of all mention of the ministry in the Roman Church, in favour of the idea that the Church at Rome did not possess a representative of one of the three orders, *i.e.* a bishop.

The repeated insistence by Ignatius on the duty of obedience to this threefold ministry was occasioned by the danger arising in his day from the heretical and separatist tendencies of the Docetic and Judaic parties. But it has its roots in that idea of the Church and its unity which we have already described. The same principle, the union of 'flesh' and 'spirit,' of outward and inward, appears in his language upon the Eucharist in Philad. 4, Smyrn. 6, 8. On the one hand, he uses clear and definite language as to the nature of the gift received in the sacrament. The Eucharist is 'the flesh of Christ,' 'the gift of God,' 'the medicine of immor-

¹ *Ch. in R. Emp.*, pp. 370 foll.

³ Eph. 3.

² Polyc., *Phil.* 5.

⁴ Trall. 3.

talities'; the 'one cup' brings us into 'union with the Blood' of Christ. On the other hand, there is a strong vein of mysticism in his teaching, which leads him to speak of 'faith' as the 'flesh' of Christ, and 'love' as 'the blood' of Christ (Trall. 8, Rom. 7). The dangers of the time led Ignatius to an emphatic warning to his readers to guard the sacramental unity of the Church, which was broken by the separatists. They are to assemble at the 'one altar.'¹ Without the bishop's authority they are not 'to baptize or hold a love-feast.' His authority alone gives 'validity' and 'security' to whatever is done.'²

For his language on baptism, see Eph. 18, Smyrn. 8, Polyc. 6.

The teaching of Ignatius upon the Incarnation, as a fact and as a principle, has its roots in the teaching of St. Paul and St. John, and was taken up by later Fathers. At the close of the second century it finds expression in St. Irenæus. Once more, amid the perils arising from Arianism, St. Athanasius, in the fourth century, seized upon its leading idea, that in Jesus Christ God Himself has entered our human nature, in order to reveal Himself to man and endow man with the gift of eternal life. In that faith has lain the secret of 'the victory that overcometh the world.'

Once again, when Ignatius asserted that in the Incarnation was effected the reconciliation of 'flesh' and 'spirit,' of the material and the spiritual, he stated a principle that has found expression in the life and worship of the Catholic Church. Gnosticism and later mysticism alike have emphasized the opposition between spirit and matter, and have tended to despiritualize the material. In the Middle Ages men were inclined to confuse the two, and so to materialize the spiritual. In her unchanging faith and the permanent elements of her life and worship, the Church witnesses to the truer view, and reconciles the antithesis. In 'the Word made flesh' we see the promise of the consummation of all things.

¹ Eph. 5 20, Magn. 7, Trall. 7, Philad. 4 (with notes).

² Smyrn. 8.

I. THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

[Ephesus was the capital of the Roman province of Asia, and was the port which conducted in Roman times most of the trade of the great highway leading from the East to the *Ægean*. There is probably an allusion to this great trade-route in Eph. 12. The city was naturally chosen by St. Paul as a centre for missionary labours. See Acts xviii., xix. Christianity spread rapidly, and Ephesus is mentioned first among the seven churches of Asia in the book of Revelation (Rev. i. 11, ii. 1). A tradition dating from the last quarter of the second century represents St. John as spending his later years at Ephesus (see c. 11, note). Ignatius had not visited Ephesus, but the Church had sent delegates to him at Smyrna. The present letter was written from Smyrna to thank them for their kindly interest in him. He reminds them of their glorious history (cc. 8, 11, 12), and praises them for their adherence to the truth and their regard for order (c. 6). At the same time he warns them against false teachers who had been passing through Ephesus (c. 9). He urges upon them the importance, in face of heresy, of faith in the historical manifestation of Jesus Christ, a more frequent use of corporate worship, and adherence to the bishop. From the language of cc. 7, 18, 19, 20, and the opening inscription (see notes), it would seem that the heresy alluded to was Docetic. There are no references to Judaism.]

IGNATIUS, who is also Theophorus,¹ to her that is blessed with greatness² through the fulness³ of God

¹ Probably a title adopted by Ignatius himself to remind him of his Christian calling. The word may bear an active or a passive meaning, 'bearing God' or 'borne (or inspired) by God,' according as we read it *θεοφόρος* or *θεόφορος*. In favour of the active meaning it may be urged, (1) Ignatius in c. 9 uses the word in this sense. (2) The word was commonly interpreted in this sense in the following centuries. Thus, in the Antiochene Acts of the Martyrdom, c. 2, when Trajan asks, 'Who is he that beareth God?' Ignatius replies, 'He that hath Christ in his breast.' (3) The idea thus contained in the word was common in early writers. Cf. the early Latin reading of 1 Cor. vi. 20, 'glorify *and* bear God in your body,' found also in Tertullian and Cyprian. From the passive sense, 'borne by God' arose the tradition that Ignatius was the child whom our Lord took up in His arms (Mark ix. 36).

The word 'greatness' refers to the spiritual growth of the Church at Ephesus.

The word 'fulness,' or *pleroma*, is the word used in John i. 16,

the Father, foreordained before the ages to be continually for abiding and unchangeable glory; united and chosen out by a passion truly suffered,¹ through the will of the Father and Jesus Christ our God; to the Church which is at Ephesus [in Asia], worthy of congratulation, heartiest greeting in Jesus Christ and in joy that is without reproach.

I. I welcomed in God your dearly loved name,² which is yours by nature³ [in an upright and just mind] by faith and love towards Christ Jesus our Saviour. Being imitators of God, you were kindled into action by the blood of God, and perfectly fulfilled a task which accorded with your nature. For when you heard⁴ that I was come from Syria in bonds for the Name and hope common to us all, and that I was hoping by your prayer to attain my purpose of fighting with wild beasts at Rome, that through my attaining I may be enabled to be a disciple, you were anxious to visit me. I received therefore your numerous body⁵ in the name of God in the person of Onesimus, whose love surpasses

Rom. xv. 29, Eph. i. 23, etc. It denotes, in the language of St. Paul and St. John, the whole sum of the Divine attributes. Out of the Divine fulness each man receives the gifts and graces needed for the spiritual life. The word 'fulness,' as also the words 'blessed,' 'foreordained,' 'glory,' 'chosen out,' 'the will [of the Father],' are perhaps reminiscences of the opening verses of St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians.

¹ The words 'truly suffered' are an allusion to the Docetic error.

² The word 'name' is used in the sense of 'character.'

³ This character was due to natural gifts rather than training or accidental circumstances. The words in brackets have been added by Lightfoot from the abridged Syriac version, having probably fallen out at a time earlier than any existing copies of the Greek text.

⁴ Probably at the point where Ignatius' guards took the northern route through Philadelphia, instead of the southern route through Tralles, Magnesia, and Ephesus, messengers were sent to inform those Churches of Ignatius' approaching visit to Smyrna.

⁵ In receiving their bishop Onesimus, Ignatius received the whole Church which he represented.

words, who is, besides, in the flesh your bishop. I pray that you may love him with a love according to Jesus Christ, and that you may all be like him. For blessed is He Who granted unto you, worthy as you are, to possess such a bishop.

II. Concerning my fellow-servant Burrhus,¹ who by God's appointment is your deacon and is blessed in all things, I pray that he may remain here unto the honour of yourselves and the bishop. And Crocus, who is worthy of God and of you, whom I received as a pattern of the love borne by you, has relieved me in all things—may the Father of Jesus Christ in like manner refresh² him—along with Onesimus and Burrhus and Euplus and Fronto, in whose presence my love saw you all. May I have joy of you all continually, if I be worthy. So then it is fitting in every way to glorify Jesus Christ Who has glorified you, that in one obedience you may be perfectly joined together, submitting yourselves to the bishop and to the presbytery, and may in all things be found sanctified.

III. I do not command you, as though I were somewhat. For even though I be bound in the Name, I have not yet become perfected in Jesus Christ. For now I am making a beginning of discipleship, and I address you as my fellow-disciples.³ For it were meet for me to be anointed by you⁴ for the contest with

¹ For Burrhus, cf. Philad. 11, Smyrn. 12, from which we see that the request of Ignatius was granted.

² Probably a reminiscence of 2 Tim. i. 16.

³ The word used here (*συνδιδασκαλῖται*) is understood by Lightfoot and Zahn to mean 'school-fellows.' The word is not found elsewhere, but Lightfoot adduces in illustration a Latin word found in inscriptions, 'compedagogita,' which is used in the plural to denote slaves trained in the same school or under the same master. The master in this case is Christ.

⁴ The anointing of the athlete was the work of the trainer. Cf. Rom. 3. In both passages the idea is that the Church alluded

faith, admonition, patience, long-suffering. But since love does not suffer me to be silent concerning you, I have therefore hastened to exhort you to set yourselves in harmony with the mind of God. For even Jesus Christ, our inseparable Life, is the Mind of the Father, as also the bishops, established in the furthest quarters,¹ are in the mind of Jesus Christ.

IV. Hence it is fitting for you to set yourselves in harmony with the mind of the bishop, as indeed you do. For your noble presbytery, worthy of God, is fitted to the bishop, as the strings to a harp. And thus by means of your accord and harmonious love Jesus Christ is sung.² Form yourselves one and all into a choir, that blending in concord, taking the key-note of God, you may sing in unison with one voice through Jesus Christ to the Father, that He may hear you and recognize by means of your well-doing that you are members of His Son. Therefore it is profitable for you to live in unblameable unity, that you may be also partakers of God continually.

V. For if I in a short space of time had such intercourse with your bishop, not after the common way of men, but after the spirit, how much more do I con-

to had encouraged and instructed, by example and precept, the martyrs of Christ. Ephesus was, in Ignatius' phrase, 'the highway of martyrs' (c. 12). Prisoners condemned to the wild beasts in the Roman amphitheatre, coming from the East, would in most cases sail from the port of Ephesus to Ostia. Ramsay (*Ch. in R. Emp.*, p. 318) shows that the route taken by Ignatius was unusual.

¹ Ignatius is introducing the great theme found in all his epistles, the importance of unity. Christ is at one with the Father; the bishops, however distant from each other, are at one with Jesus Christ. In the phrase 'furthest quarters,' 'Ignatius would be contemplating regions as distant as Gaul on the one hand and Mesopotamia on the other' (Lightfoot).

² Jesus Christ is the theme of their song. For the metaphor, cf. Philad. 1, and Rom. 2.

gratulate you, who are knit to him as closely as is the Church to Jesus Christ and Jesus Christ to the Father, that all things may accord in unity. Let no man be deceived. If any one be not within the enclosure of the altar,¹ he lacks the bread of God.² For if the prayer of one or two hath so great efficacy,³ how much more has the prayer of the bishop and of the whole Church. So then he who comes not to the congregation thereby shows his pride and straightway cuts himself off. For it is written, '*God resisteth the proud.*'⁴ So then let us take heed not to resist the bishop, that we may be living in submission to God.⁵

VI. And so far as a man sees a bishop keeping silence,⁶ let him hold him all the more in reverence. For every one, whom the Master of the household sends to administer His own household, we ought to receive even as the Sender's very self. The bishop then we ought plainly to regard as the Lord Himself. Now Onesimus of his own accord praises highly your orderly manner of life in God, how that you all live in accordance with truth and that in your midst no heresy has its dwelling. Nay, you do not even listen to any one if he speak of aught beyond⁷ Jesus Christ in truth.

VII. For some are wont, out of malicious cunning,

¹ On the word translated 'enclosure of the altar,' see Trall. 7, Philad. 4, with notes. The 'enclosure of the altar' is the court of the congregation in the old Tabernacle or Temple. This was separated from the outer court. Here it denotes the assembly of the faithful in each individual church.

² Lightfoot brackets the words 'of God.'

³ Cf. Matt. xviii. 18—20.

⁴ Prov. iii. 34.

⁵ The translation follows Zahn's reading. Lightfoot's text yields the sense, 'we may be God's by our subjection.'

⁶ Ignatius is here indirectly pleading for their bishop Onesimus, whose quiet and modest demeanour might lead some to despise him. Cf. c. 15, and the similar directions in Philad. 1, Magn. 3.

⁷ Lightfoot's reading has been followed.

to bear about with them the Name, while they practise certain other deeds unworthy of God. These you must needs avoid as wild beasts.¹ For they are mad dogs, biting stealthily, against whom you must be on your guard, for their bite is hard to heal. There is one Physician, of flesh and of spirit,² originate and unoriginate,³ God in man, true Life in death, son of Mary⁴ and Son of God, first passible and then impassible, Jesus Christ our Lord.

VIII. Let no man then deceive you, as indeed you are not deceived, for you are wholly given to God. For when no evil desire is implanted in you, which can torment you, then are you living after a godly manner. I devote myself to abasement for your sakes,⁵ I sur-

¹ Cf. Smyrn. 4, Philad. 2.

² On the antithesis of 'flesh' and 'spirit' in these epistles, see Intro. § 4. The word 'spirit' expresses here the Divine nature of Christ. We may compare 2 Clem. c. 9, 'Christ the Lord . . . being first spirit, then became flesh.' The human element is expressed by the word 'flesh.' For this balanced antithesis, cf. Polyc. 3.

³ The terms employed by Ignatius are *γεννητός* and *ἀγέννητος*. Ignatius is using the words to express little more than 'created and uncreate.' Such language, however, points to an early period of doctrinal statement, and could not have been used in later days without incurring the charge of heresy, as it would have seemed to deny the Divine generation of the Son. 'The conception of a Divine Sonship was realized by the Church before the conception of a Divine generation' (Swete, *Apostles' Creed*, p. 28). Hence the use of such language by Ignatius at a time when there was no exact definition of theological terms involves nothing inconsistent with the Nicene Creed, and affords no proof that he denied the pre-existence of Christ. This latter finds expression in Magn. 6 and Polyc. 3. See further Lightfoot's *Excursus*, vol. ii. pp. 90, foll.

⁴ The whole of this passage is aimed at the Docetic error, which denied the reality of the Incarnation.

⁵ Literally, 'I am your offscouring.' The same word, *περίψημα*, is used by St. Paul in 1 Cor. iv. 13. It is a word used of condemned criminals of the lowest classes, who were sacrificed as expiatory offerings in times of plague or other visitations, to avert the wrath of the Gods. It thus includes the two ideas of 'self-devotion' and 'abasement.'

render myself as an offering for the Church of you Ephesians, which is renowned unto the ages. They that are of the flesh cannot do the works of the Spirit,¹ neither can they that are spiritual do the works of the flesh, even as faith cannot do the works of unbelief, nor unbelief the works of faith. But even the things which you do after the flesh are spiritual.² For you do all things in Jesus Christ.

IX. I have learned that certain persons from yonder³ have passed through your city, bringing with them false teaching. These you did not suffer to sow seeds among you, for you closed your ears that they might not receive the seeds sown by them, since you were stones⁴ of the temple, prepared beforehand⁵ for a building of God the Father, being raised to the heights by the engine of Jesus Christ, which is the Cross, using as your rope the Holy Spirit. Your faith is the windlass,⁶ and love is the way which leads up to God. So then you are all companions in festal procession along the way,⁷ bearing your

¹ Suggested by 1 Cor. ii. 14 sq.

² See Introd. § 4.

³ It is uncertain what place is alluded to. Lightfoot conjectures Philadelphia.

⁴ The change of metaphor is sudden, after the manner of Ignatius, and is followed by another change. They are in succession the soil in which seed is sown, stones of a building, and members of a festal procession.

⁵ Lightfoot's emendation has been adopted.

⁶ The whole of this passage is a somewhat extravagant expansion in great detail of the metaphor used by St. Paul in Eph. ii. 20 sq. In the building of the Church, the faithful are the stones, the Cross is the crane, the Holy Spirit is the rope by which the stones are raised, faith is the windlass which sets the machine in motion, and love is the inclined plane along which the stones are drawn.

⁷ Another change of metaphor. The figure is now a heathen procession, in which the pilgrims, arrayed in festal attire, carry small shrines, images, and other sacred emblems. Such processions would be common in Syria, Asia, and elsewhere. For a gift of such images to the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, see Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, II. 17.

God and shrine,¹ bearing Christ and your holy treasures, fully arrayed in the commandments of Jesus Christ. And in your rejoicings I too have part, and am suffered to associate with you by letter, and to rejoice with you that you love nothing pertaining to man's outward life,² but God only.

X. And for the rest of men pray unceasingly³—for there is in them hope of repentance—that they may attain unto God. Suffer them therefore to learn discipleship at least from your works. In face of their outbursts of wrath be meek; in face of their boastful words be humble; meet their revilings with prayers; where they are in error, be steadfast in the faith⁴; in face of their fury be gentle. Be not eager to retaliate upon them. Let our forbearance prove us their brethren. Let us endeavour to be imitators of the Lord, striving who can suffer the greater wrong,⁵ who can be defrauded, who be set at naught, that no rank weed of the Devil be found in you. But in all purity and sobriety abide in Christ Jesus in flesh and in spirit.

XI. These are the last times.⁶ Henceforth let us feel shame, let us stand in awe of the long-suffering of God, lest it turn to our judgment. For either let us fear the wrath to come, or let us love the grace which is present—either this or that; only be it ours to be found in Christ Jesus unto life which is life indeed. Apart from Him, let nothing dazzle you. For in Him I wear my bonds, my spiritual pearls, in which I pray that I may rise again by the help of your prayer—may it ever be mine to have a share in that—that I may be found among

¹ For these shrines cf. Acts xix. 24. They were small models offered to the god or goddess, or kept at home as amulets, and sometimes placed in graves by the side of the dead.

² Lightfoot's emendation has been adopted.

³ Cf. 1 Thess. v. 17.

⁴ See Col. i. 23.

⁵ A reminiscence of 1 Cor. vi. 7.

⁶ Cf. 1 John ii. 18.

the band of those Ephesian Christians, who were, besides, continually of one accord¹ with the Apostles² in the power of Jesus Christ.

XII. I know who I am and to whom I write. I am a condemned man, you have obtained mercy. I am subject to peril, you are established secure. You are the highway of those who are being conducted by death unto God³ You are initiated into the mysteries along with Paul,⁴ who was sanctified and well approved, who is worthy of congratulation; in whose footsteps may I

¹ Or with Zahn's reading, 'consorted with.'

² In addition to St. Paul, who had resided and taught at Ephesus, there may be a reference to St. John, whom a tradition, dating from the last quarter of the second century, represents as residing in his later years at Ephesus. See Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* III. i. 1; Polycrates, quoted by Eusebius, *H. E.* v. 24; Clement of Alexandria, *Quis dives salvetur*, c. 42; cf. Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* iv. 5. On the evidence of a statement attributed to Papias in some recently recovered fragments of Philip of Side (fifth century) to the effect that the Apostle John was slain by the Jews, this residence at Ephesus has been called in question by some recent scholars, and it is certainly surprising that Ignatius in his letter to the Ephesians nowhere expressly refers to St. John. See for a discussion of the whole question Stanton, *Gospels as Historical Documents*, I. 162 f., 213 f. St. Peter's first epistle is addressed to Asiatic Christians, and St. Andrew and St. Philip are represented in early tradition as having lived in these regions.

³ Ephesus was 'a highway of martyrs.' Criminals were frequently reserved for the shows and hunting scenes in the amphitheatre, and the provinces were resorted to for the supply of victims. The Christians would be treated as common criminals, unless they were Roman citizens. Such bands of prisoners from the East would pass along the great route which reached the sea at Ephesus, and would thence be shipped to Ostia, the port of Rome.

⁴ A metaphor derived from the ancient mysteries and suggested by the language of St. Paul, who constantly uses the word of the Gospel, and in Phil. iv. 12, speaks of himself as 'initiated' (A.V. 'I am instructed'). Ignatius is speaking of their intercourse with martyrs. Among these was St. Paul, who had resided and taught at Ephesus. The notices in the Pastoral Epistles (1 Tim. i. 3, 2 Tim. i. 18, iv. 13, 20) represent the Apostle as traversing these same regions and, like Ignatius, journeying to Troas on his way to Rome for his final trial and martyrdom. On the silence of Ignatius as to St. John's residence at Ephesus, see note on c. 11.

be found closely following, when I attain unto God ; who makes mention of you in every letter¹ in Christ Jesus.

XIII. Be diligent therefore to come together more often to render thanks² to God and to give glory. For when you frequently assemble together, the forces of Satan are overthrown and the destruction which he is planning is undone by the harmony of your faith. Nothing is better than peace, by which all warfare of heavenly and earthly foes is brought to naught.

XIV. None of these things escapes your notice, if you hold fast perfectly your faith and love in Jesus Christ, for these are the beginning and the end of life. The beginning is faith, the end is love. And the two blending in unity are God, and all else follows on these, ending in perfect goodness. No man who professes faith lives in sin, nor if he possesses love, does he live in hatred. The tree is manifest by its fruit.³ In like manner they who profess to be Christ's, shall be apparent by their deeds. For at this time the Work⁴ is no mere matter of profession, but is seen only when a man is found living in the power of faith unto the end.

XV. It is better to keep silence and to be than to talk and not to be.⁵ It is good to teach, if the speaker act. Now there was One Teacher, Who spake and it

¹ The words 'in every letter' are difficult. Pearson translates 'throughout his letter,' and refers it to the Epistle to the Ephesians. There are, however, references to the Ephesian Christians and to Ephesus in several of St. Paul's epistles, *e. g.* Rom. xvi. 5 ; 1 Cor. xv. 32, xvi. 8, 19 ; 2 Cor. i. 8 sq. ; 1 Tim. i. 3 ; 2 Tim. i. 18, iv. 12.

² Lit. 'come together for thanksgiving.' The word *εὐχαριστία* is here probably used generally, but indirectly refers to the Eucharist.

³ See Matt. xii. 33 ; cf. Luke vi. 44.

⁴ For 'the Work' in the sense of 'the preaching and practice of Christianity,' see Rom. 3, and cf. Acts xv. 38, Phil. ii. 30. Cf. also John. iv. 34, vi. 29, xvii. 4.

⁵ Probably he is thinking of the quiet demeanour of their bishop.

came to pass.¹ And the deeds which He has done in silence are worthy of the Father. He who is truly master of the spoken word of Jesus is able also to listen to His silence,² that he may be perfect, and so may act by his speech, and be understood by his silence. Nothing is hidden from the Lord, but even our secrets are brought nigh unto Him. Let us therefore do all things in the assurance that He dwells within us, that we may be His shrines³ and He Himself may dwell in us as God. For this is indeed true and will be made manifest before our eyes by the services of love which as our bounden duty we render unto Him.

XVI. Be not deceived, my brethren. They that corrupt houses⁴ shall not inherit the kingdom of God. If then they who did such deeds after the flesh were put to death, how much more if a man by his evil teaching corrupt God's faith for which Jesus Christ was crucified. Such a man, becoming defiled, shall go into unquenchable fire, and in like manner he that heareth him.

XVII. For this cause⁵ the Lord received the ointment⁶ upon His head, that He might breathe the odour

¹ He applies to Christ's work the words which the Psalmist used (Ps. xxxii. [xxxiii.] 9) of God's action in Creation.

² Instances of this silence are the thirty years' retirement before His public ministry, His withdrawal from popular demonstrations, His retirement for prayer, and His silence at his trial.

³ Cf. 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17, vi. 19, 2 Cor. vi. 16, Rev. xxi. 3, and see Philad. 7.

⁴ Suggested by the passages quoted in the preceding note. The 'corrupters of houses' refer to those who pollute their hearts and bodies by evil.

⁵ The words refer to what follows, 'that He might breathe,' etc.

⁶ This refers to the anointing at Bethany. See Mark xiv. 3 sq., Matt. xxvi. 6 sq., John xii. 2 sq. Zahn and Lightfoot find the parallelism to 'breathe upon the church' in the words recorded by St. John only, 'the house was filled with the odour of the ointment.' They infer accordingly from the passage a knowledge by Ignatius of St. John's narrative. But it is more probable that

of incorruption upon the Church. Be not anointed with the foul odour of the teaching of the Prince of this world,¹ lest he lead you captive and exclude you from the life set before you. And why do we not all become prudent by receiving the knowledge of God, which is Jesus Christ? Why do we foolishly perish in ignorance of the gift which the Lord has truly sent?

XVIII. My spirit abases itself for the sake of the Cross,² which is an offence³ to the unbelievers, but to us it is salvation and life eternal. Where is the wise man? Where is he that disputeth? Where is the boasting of the so-called men of understanding? For our God, Jesus Christ, was conceived by Mary according to a Divine purpose,⁴ of the seed of David, and yet of the Holy Spirit; Who was born and baptized, that by His Passion He might purify water.⁵

the relation here conceived of between Christ and the Church is that of the Head to the Body. The Body partakes of the fragrant ointment which has been poured 'upon the Head.' This interpretation, which is suggested by Von der Goltz (*Texte u. Unters.* xii. 3), accords with the interpretation of the incident given by Origen, c. *Cels.* vi. 79.

¹ 'The prince of this world' recalls the similar phrase in St. John (xii. 31, xiv. 30, xvi. 11). The words for 'world,' however, are different. In Ignatius *αἰών* is found, in the Gospel *κόσμος* is used. The phrase occurs again Eph. 19, Magn. 1, Trall. 4, Rom. 7, Philad. 6.

² Lit. 'my spirit is the offscouring of the Cross.' See note on c. 8.

³ Suggested by 1 Cor. i. 23, 24. The following clause is a reminiscence of the same chapter.

⁴ Or 'dispensation' (*οἰκονομίαν*), a word specially used of the Incarnation. Cf. Eph. i. 10.

⁵ The thought of Ignatius appears to be that by His own baptism our Lord set apart and appropriated water to the use of His Church in the future for the Sacrament of Baptism. The *virtue* of baptism, however, was derived from the cleansing power of the Cross communicated in the Sacrament. Hence the reference to the Passion. Similarly the water of Baptism is connected with the Cross in Barnabas 11.

XIX. And from the prince of this world were hidden¹ Mary's virginity and her child-bearing, in like manner too² the death of the Lord.³ Three mysteries are these for open proclamation, wrought in God's silence. How then were they manifested to the ages? A star⁴ shone forth in Heaven more brightly than all the stars, and its light was greater than words can tell, and its strange appearing caused perplexity. And all the other stars,⁵ with the sun and moon, formed themselves into a band about the star. But the star itself surpassed them all in its brightness. And there was distress to know whence came this strange sight so unlike the other stars. From that time all sorcery and every spell began

¹ The idea that Satan was deceived by the mysterious silence and reserve of God in the Incarnation is found in writers of the second, third, and fourth centuries. Thus Gregory of Nyssa (*Or. Cat.* 26) says: 'He who first deceived man by the bait of sensual pleasure, is himself deceived by the presentment of the human form.'

² One of the two MSS. of the Curetonian Syriac Version omits all mention of the death, and dissociates 'the three mysteries' from what precedes. The words then run: 'the virginity of M. and the birth of our Lord and the three mysteries of a cry.' But it is difficult to see what 'the three mysteries' can mean, when thus dissociated from the preceding words. The absence of the omitted clause in the quotation of this passage by Origen (*Hom. in Luc.* vi.) is explained by the fact that he is quoting the passage merely with reference to the Virgin-Birth.

³ By 'the death of the Lord' here Ignatius means the atonement brought about through the death. The fact was known to Satan; its significance escaped him. Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 7 sq.

⁴ A later expansion, doubtless, of the incident described in Matt. ii. 1 sq., but whether derived from oral tradition or a written source we cannot tell. The only other passage where Ignatius shows knowledge of a tradition other than that preserved in our Gospels is in Smyrn. 3. In Clement of Alexandria, *Exc. Theod.* 74, the incident of the star is expanded in language which may show acquaintance with this passage of Ignatius.

⁵ The idea appears to have been suggested by Joseph's dream. For similar legendary additions, see passages quoted by Lightfoot, vol. ii. pp. 81, 82. How far this passage is intended as an actual description it is difficult to say.

to lose their power; ¹ the ignorance of wickedness began to vanish away; the overthrow of the ancient dominion was being brought to pass, ² since God was appearing in human form unto newness of life eternal. That which had been perfected in the mind of God was coming into being. Hence all things were disturbed, because the overthrow of death was being planned.

XX. If Jesus Christ permit me through your prayer, and it be God's will, in my second treatise, which I am about to write unto you, ³ I will go on to set forth the Divine plan, which I began to expound, with reference to the new man, ⁴ Jesus Christ, consisting in faith in Him and love toward Him, in His Passion and Resurrection, especially if the Lord make any ⁵ revelation to me. Meet in common assembly in grace, every one of you, man by man, in one faith and in one Jesus Christ, Who is according to the flesh of the stock of David, the Son of man and Son of God, so that you may obey the bishop and the presbytery with a mind free from distraction; breaking one bread, ⁶ which is the medicine of immortality, the antidote preserving us that we should not die but live for ever in Jesus Christ.

¹ Magic and witchcraft were widely prevalent in the Empire throughout the first four centuries. Cf. Acts xix. 19 for an account of its prevalence at Ephesus. The emperor Hadrian, in a letter written to Servianus about 134 A.D., says with reference to the city of Alexandria: 'There is no ruler of a synagogue there, no Samaritan, no Christian presbyter, who is not an astrologer, a soothsayer, a quack.' The idea that the power of witchcraft was broken by the coming of Christ is commonly found in the Fathers.

² Lightfoot's reading has been adopted.

³ There is nothing to show that this design was ever carried out.

⁴ For the 'new man,' cf. 1 Cor. xv. 45, 47. Lightfoot suggests that Ignatius may have understood Eph. iv. 24 to refer to Christ.

⁵ Zahn's emendation has been adopted.

⁶ For the phrase, cf. Acts ii. 46, xx. 7, etc., 1 Cor. x. 16. The reference is to the Eucharist, which is the bond of unity between Christ and His members. See Smyrn. 8, Philad. 4. With the following words cf. John vi. 53, 54.

cy exp Att-u
I. Inca. C.
C. p. 100

XXI. I am devoted to you¹ and to those whom you sent to Smyrna for the honour of God. It is from thence, moreover, that I am writing to you with thanksgiving to the Lord, and with love for Polycarp as well as for yourselves. Remember me, even as Jesus Christ remembers you. Pray for the Church which is in Syria, whence I am being led in bonds to Rome, though I am the last among the faithful there; according as I was deemed worthy to be found destined for the honour of God. Farewell in God the Father and in Jesus Christ our common Hope.

¹ Lit. 'I am a sacrifice for you.' The word *ἀντίψυχον*, used here, occurs again; Smyrn. 10, Polyc. 2, 6. It closely resembles the word used in c. 8. But the prominent idea is simply 'devotion to, and love for, another.' The word may be illustrated by another word of similar formation, *ισόψυχος*, 'like-minded,' which is found not only in Phil. ii. 20, but also in the LXX version of Ps. liv. [lv.] 14 (translated in the P.-B. V. 'my companion'). Others, however, see in the phrase a fuller significance, 'I give my life for you,' and find in it an allusion to his coming martyrdom. Cf. for the idea 1 John iii. 16. Athanasius (*de Inc.* 9) uses the word of our Lord's sacrifice.

II. THE EPISTLE TO THE MAGNESIANS.

[Magnesia by the Mæander was about fifteen Roman miles south-east of Ephesus. The foundation of the Church there probably dates from St. Paul's residence at Ephesus (Acts xix. 10—26). The Magnesians Christians, like the Ephesians, on hearing of Ignatius' visit to Smyrna, had sent delegates to that city, including representatives of all three orders of the ministry (c. 2). Ignatius writes to acknowledge their interest in him. As in other epistles, he urges the importance of unity and the duty of obedience to the ministry, especially warning them against presuming upon the youthfulness of their bishop (c. 3). In cc. 8—10 he deals with a form of Judaistic error, against which he warns them, without, however, implying its actual existence at Magnesia (cf. cc. 11, 12, 14). There are incidental allusions to Docetism (cc. 9, 11). See further Add. Note I.]

IGNATIUS, who is also Theophorus, to her that has been blessed by the grace of God the Father in Christ Jesus our Saviour, in Whom I salute the Church which is in Magnesia by the Mæander, and wish her in God the Father and in Jesus Christ heartiest greeting.

I. When I learned that your godly love shows itself in a most orderly demeanour,¹ I rejoiced and resolved to address myself to you in the faith of Jesus Christ. For having been granted a title of the highest reverence,² in my bonds which I wear I sing the praises of the churches,³ and I pray that in them there may be union of flesh and spirit,⁴ which belong to Jesus Christ, our

¹ *i. e.* their submission to authority.

² Probably the title of 'a prisoner of Jesus Christ.' Cf. Eph. iii. 1, iv. 1, Philem. 1, 9.

³ Cf. Eph. 4, Rom. 2. Here, as there, Ignatius 'compares himself to some gay reveller; his fetters are his holiday decoration.'—LIGHTFOOT.

⁴ Cf. Rom. inscr. and below, c. 13. On Ignatius' conception of the unity of the Church, see Introd. § 4. The source of the Church's unity, as of its life, is Christ Himself. See below, 'union with Jesus and the Father.' Cf. Trall. II.

continual Life, an union in both faith and love—for there is nothing better than that—and, more than all, union with Jesus and the Father. In Him we shall endure all the malicious attacks of the prince of this world,¹ and, escaping from them, shall attain unto God

II. Since therefore I have been permitted to see you in the person of Damas, your godly bishop, and the worthy presbyters, Bassus and Apollonius, and my fellow-servant, the deacon Zotion, of whom may I have joy, because he is subject unto the bishop as unto the grace of God, and to the presbytery as unto the law of Jesus Christ—²

III. And for yourselves, it is fitting that you too should not treat lightly the youth of your bishop, but considering the power of God the Father,³ pay him all reverence. For in like manner I have perceived that the holy presbyters have not presumed upon his seemingly youthful state,⁴ but yield place to him as to one who is prudent⁵ in God, or rather not to him, but to the Father of Jesus Christ, even to Him Who is Bishop of all men.⁶ So then for the honour of Him,

¹ See note Eph. 17.

² 'The bishop is here regarded as the dispenser of blessings; the presbyters as the representatives and guardians of order.'—LIGHTFOOT. The sentence is unfinished.

³ *i. e.* the authority bestowed on him by God.

⁴ The words *νεωτερικῇν τάξιν* have been variously translated. The rendering given above follows Pearson and Lightfoot. Others, seeing in the words an allusion to episcopacy as a newly-created institution, translate 'not recognizing the seemingly newly-created office.' But, apart from the fact that the language of Ignatius lends no countenance to the view that he regarded episcopacy as a new institution, the words will not admit of this rendering. Zahn renders 'the ordination of a young man,' but this puts a strain on the words. The translation above gives good sense. Damas outwardly appeared youthful, but showed a wisdom beyond his years.

⁵ The reading of the Armenian Version has been followed.

⁶ Cf. Rom. 9, Polyc. inscr. See 1 Pet. ii. 25.

Who desired you, it is fitting that you should obey without dissembling. For it is not that a man deceives this visible bishop,¹ but rather that he tries to cheat Him Who is invisible. And in such case it is not with flesh that he has to do, but with God Who knows the things that are in secret.

IV. So then it is fitting not only to be called, but also to be Christians. Even as there are some who have the name 'bishop' always on their lips, and yet in everything act apart from him. Now such seem to me to be not men of a good conscience, seeing that they gather not together in a valid way² according to command.

V. So then the things of this life have an end, and there are set together before us the two issues of life and death, and each man shall surely go to his own place.³ For just as there are two coinages, the one of God, the other of the world, and each one of them has stamped upon it its own image, the unbelievers the stamp of this world, and they that in love believe, the image of God the Father through Jesus Christ,⁴ through Whom unless we are ready of our own accord to die unto His Passion,⁵ His life is not in us—⁶

VI. Seeing therefore that in the persons already

¹ A reference to the original meaning of the word, 'overseer.' Cf. Rom. 9.

² Cf. Smyrn. 8 note.

³ Acts i. 25. Cf. *Clement of Rome*, c. 5, and Polyc., *Phil.* 9.

⁴ Cf. Heb. i. 3, where Christ is Himself the 'impress' of the Father's 'essence.' This Divine image is stamped upon the believer by his union with Christ.

⁵ Lit. 'die into His Passion.' The Christian becomes identified with Christ in His Passion, and dies with Him. Cf. the language of St. Paul on baptism into Christ in Rom. vi. 4, Gal. iii. 27; also Rom. vi. 5, Gal. ii. 20.

⁶ The sentence is unfinished. The frequent occurrence of such broken sentences is an indication of haste in the composition of these letters.

mentioned I beheld in faith your whole number, and have welcomed them, I urge you, be diligent to do all things in godly concord, the bishop presiding after the pattern¹ of God, and the presbyters after the pattern of the council of the Apostles, with the deacons also who are most dear to me, seeing they are entrusted with a service under² Jesus Christ, Who before the ages was with the Father, and appeared at the end.³ Therefore seeking to conform yourselves to the ways of God,⁴ reverence one another, and let no man look upon his neighbour after the flesh, but in Jesus Christ love one another continually. Let there be nothing among you which shall be able to divide you, but be united with the bishop, and with them that have the rule over you for a pattern and lesson of incorruption.

VII. As therefore the Lord did nothing without the

¹ Reading *τύπον*, which has the support of the Syriac and Armenian Versions. The Greek text, Latin Version, and the Longer Greek text read *τόπον*, 'in the place of.'

There are two types of authority to which Ignatius likens the authority of the bishop, both being suggested by the memory of the Lord's earthly ministry. (1) The bishop represents the authority of the Father, to whom Christ, as Son of Man, during His earthly life yielded obedience (cf. Trall. 3, Smyrn. 8, and present passage). (2) The bishop represents the authority of Christ over His Apostles (cf. Trall. 2). In Magn. 13 we find both comparisons.

The presbyters are regularly compared to the Apostles. Cf. Trall. 2, 3; Smyrn. 8.

The deacons are also compared to Jesus Christ, but in His relation as Son of Man to the Father. See present chapter and Trall. 3 (note).

The word 'council' is suggested by primitive Church custom. The bishop sat in the centre, with the presbyters forming a 'corona' about him (cf. c. 13). Cf. Trall. 3, Philad. 8. In *App. Const.* ii. 28 the presbyters are called 'the council of the Church.'

² Or 'a service in which Jesus Christ ministered.' (Cf. Matt. xx. 28, Mark x. 45. Cf. Trall. 3) For the rendering given, cf. 2 Cor. xi. 23, 1 Tim. iv. 6.

³ Cf. Heb. i. 2.

⁴ Cf. Polyc. 1 note.

Father¹ [being united with Him²], neither of Himself nor by the Apostles, so neither do you act in anything apart from the bishop and presbyters. Neither attempt to persuade yourselves that anything is right which you do of yourselves apart. But in common let there be one prayer, one supplication, one mind, one hope, in love, in joy that is without blame, which³ is Jesus Christ—for there is naught better than He. Gather yourselves together, all of you, as unto one shrine, even God,⁴ as unto one altar, even One Jesus Christ, Who proceeded from One Father,⁵ and is in One and returned to One.

VIII. Be not deceived by strange doctrines nor by ancient fables,⁶ seeing that they are profitless. For if, until now, we live after the rule of Judaism,⁷ we confess

¹ Cf. John viii. 28.

² Cf. Smyrn. 3. Some authorities omit the words.

³ The relative refers to the whole clause. - 'This perfect unity is Jesus Christ.'—LIGHTFOOT. In place of the relative, which the Latin Version reads, the Greek text has 'there is one Jesus Christ.'

⁴ The rendering given follows the text of Lightfoot, and adopts his reading Θεόν, for Θεοῦ of the Greek text and Latin Version; 'one shrine, even God,' instead of 'one shrine of God.' With this reading God is compared to the shrine, and Jesus Christ to the altar-court, through which in the Jewish Temple access was gained to the Holy Place and Holy of Holies. The idea is that Christ is the means of access to the Father. The whole passage is an appeal for unity, which can only come through being in Jesus Christ, Who is Himself in the Father. For the word altar, cf. Eph. 5, Trall. 7, Philad. 4. See also Heb. xiii. 10. For the whole idea of the passage cf. Heb. ix. 6 sq.

⁵ The reference is to His earthly mission. The language of this passage recalls John i. 18, xiii. 3, xvi. 28.

⁶ Cf. 1 Tim. i. 4, iv. 7, Tit. i. 14, iii. 9. In those passages, as also in the present passage, the reference is probably to Rabbinic fables and the allegorical interpretations of Jewish history. See Hort (*Judaistic Christianity*, p. 135 sq.). In the expressions of this epistle and of that to the Philadelphians there is nothing which necessarily points to a mixture of Gnosticism and Judaism as Lightfoot supposes. See further Add. Note 1.

⁷ Cf. Gal. i. 13, ii. 14. By 'the rule of Judaism,' Ignatius means the observance of Jewish rites,

that we have not received grace.¹ For the Divine prophets lived a life in accordance with Christ Jesus.² For this cause too they were persecuted, being inspired by [His] grace, so that unbelievers³ might be fully convinced that there is One God Who manifested Himself through Jesus Christ His Son, Who is His Word,⁴ coming forth from silence, Who in all things did the good pleasure of Him that sent Him.⁵

IX. If therefore those who lived in ancient observances attained unto newness of hope, no longer keeping the Sabbath,⁶ but living a life ruled by the Lord's day,⁷

¹ Cf. Gal. ii. 21, v. 4. The Pauline contrast of 'grace' and 'law' underlies the passage.

² For these references to the Old Testament prophets cf. Philad. 5, 8, 9. These Judaistic teachers set up the authority of the Old Testament against the Gospel, and refused to accept anything in the latter which was not prophesied in the former. Ignatius maintains that the teaching of the prophets anticipated, and was completed by, the perfect revelation of God in Christ. For this Pauline thought, cf. Rom. i. 2, iii. 21. Cf. also 1 Pet. i. 10, and the present epistle c. 9 (end).

³ *i. e.* unbelievers of a later age, who would be struck by the fulfilment of prophecy.

⁴ The Greek text and Latin version both read 'His Eternal Word, not coming forth from silence.' The reading translated is that of the Armenian Version, which though translated from the Syriac, is ultimately derived from a very ancient Greek text. It occurs also in the earliest known quotation of these words by Severus of Antioch (c. 513—518). It suits the context better than the other reading, pointing a contrast with the preceding phrases, and it agrees with Ignatius' language elsewhere (cf. Eph. 19). Lightfoot thinks that the other reading was due to an alteration of the text in the fourth century. Both the Gnostics and Marcellus used language of the Divine generation of the Son similar to that of Ignatius. But the resemblance is only apparent, as the context shows that Ignatius is speaking of the coming forth of the Word in the Incarnation, and the question of the pre-existence of the Word does not come within the scope of the passage.

⁵ Cf. John viii. 29.

⁶ Cf. Coloss. ii. 16. They are not to fall back into a Jewish mode of life, represented here by the Sabbatical observances of the Judaistic party.

⁷ *i. e.* living in the hopes and memories which the day inspires as the commemoration of Christ's Resurrection. There is a con-

whereon our life too had its rising through Him and His death—which¹ some deny, a mystery through which we have received the power to believe, and therefore we endure, that we may be found disciples of Jesus Christ, our only Teacher—how shall we be able to live apart from Him?² For the prophets also became His disciples, and awaited in the Spirit³ His coming to teach them. And therefore He, for Whom they rightly waited, came and raised them from the dead.⁴

X. Let us not, therefore, be insensible to His kindness. For if He should follow us in acting according to our acts, we are indeed undone. Therefore, becoming His disciples, let us learn to live in a way befitting Christianity. For he who is called by any other name besides this, is not of God. Lay aside, then, the evil leaven⁵ which has become stale⁶ and bitter, and turn

trast between the formal observance of the Sabbath and the new spirit which marked the Christian observance of the weekly festival of the Resurrection. For 'the Lord's day,' cf. *Barnabas*, 15. 'We keep the eighth day for rejoicing, in the which also Jesus rose from the dead, and having been manifested ascended into the Heavens.'

¹ The passage 'which . . . our only teacher' is perhaps best taken, with Zahn, as a parenthesis. It is a passing allusion to the Docetæ. In letters so closely connected in point of time as the Ignatian Epistles, it is only natural that the writer should show signs of the thoughts which were engaging his attention at the time. The danger arising from Docetism gives a certain colouring to the whole language of Ignatius upon the Passion of Christ, even where he is not directly assailing the error.

² Cf. c. 10 and Philad. 8, 9.

³ For the idea, cf. 1 Pet. i. 11.

⁴ The belief in the descent of Christ into Hades and His preaching there, based probably upon the passage 1 Pet. iii. 19, 20, was widespread in the second and third centuries, and was accepted by the heretic Marcion (Iren. I. 27. 2). The clause 'He descended into Hell' is not found in any baptismal creed before that of Aquileia, quoted by Rufinus, *circa* 400 A.D., though it may go back much earlier (Swete, *Apostles' Creed*, pp. 61, 62). A similar clause is found in the Dated Creed of Sirmium in 359 A.D.

⁵ Cf. 1 Cor. v. 7.

⁶ Cf. for the idea, Heb. viii. 13.

N.B. 11
to the new leaven,¹ which is Jesus Christ. Be salted in Him,² that no one among you wax corrupt, for by your savour you shall be proved. It is outrageous to utter the name of Jesus Christ and live in Judaism. For Christianity believed not in Judaism, but Judaism in Christianity, in which people of every tongue believed and were gathered unto God.

11
XI. I write not this, my beloved, because I have learned that some of you are in such evil case, but as one who is less than you, I desire to put you on your guard that you fall not into the snares of vain teaching, but be fully convinced of³ the birth and passion and resurrection, which came to pass in the time of the government of Pontius Pilate⁴—events which truly and certainly were brought to pass by Jesus Christ, our Hope, from which Hope may none of you ever go astray.

XII. May I have joy of you in all things, if I be worthy. For even though I am a prisoner, I am nothing in comparison with one of you who are free. I know that you are not puffed up, for you have Jesus Christ within yourselves.⁵ And I know that when I praise you, you feel the greater shame, for it is written, '*The righteous man is his own accuser.*'⁶

XIII. Be diligent therefore to be confirmed in the

¹ Matt. xiii. 33, Luke xiii. 21.

² Matt. v. 13, Mark ix. 50, Luke xiv. 34. Cf. Lev. ii. 13.

³ This confession, couched in an anti-Docetic form, may indicate that Ignatius feared the danger of Docetism at Magnesia. Or possibly he is thinking of the dangers threatening other churches, and so gives an anticipatory warning to the Magnesians.

⁴ The date of the Crucifixion is inserted here, as in the Creed, in order to emphasize the historical truth of the fact, and connect it with the general history of the period. Tacitus, in his account of the Christians, mentions Pilate (*Ann.* xv. 44).

⁵ Cf. 2 Cor. xiii. 5.

⁶ Prov. xviii. 17. LXX. The Hebrew gives quite a different sense.

decrees¹ of the Lord and the Apostles, that in everything which you do, you may be prospered² in flesh and spirit, by faith and love, in the Son and Father and in the Spirit,³ in the beginning and in the end, along with your bishop who is worthy of all honour, and the fitly-woven spiritual coronal⁴ of your presbytery, and the deacons who are according to the mind of God.

Submit yourselves to the bishop and to one another, as Jesus Christ [was subject] to the Father [after the flesh], and the Apostles to Christ and the Father, that there may be union both of flesh and spirit.⁵

XIV. Knowing that you are full of God, I have exhorted you briefly. Remember me in your prayers, that I may attain unto God. Remember too the Church which is in Syria, whereof I am not worthy to be called a member. For I have need of your united prayer in God, and your love, that the Church in Syria may be granted the refreshing dew of your fervent supplication.

XV. The Ephesians from Smyrna salute you, whence also I am writing to you, for they have come hither for God's glory, even as yourselves. In every way they have refreshed me, with Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna. The rest of the churches, too, salute you in the honour which is of Jesus Christ. Farewell in godly peace, keeping a steadfast spirit, which⁶ is Jesus Christ.

¹ The word for 'decrees' occurs in Acts xvi. 4. *τὴν ἐντολὴν*

² An allusion to Ps. i. 3. LXX.

³ For the order, cf. 2 Cor. xiii. 13.

⁴ See note on c. 6.

⁵ Cf. c. i (note), and see Introd. § 4.

⁶ The relative probably refers to the whole clause and the idea of concord prominent in it.

III. THE EPISTLE TO THE TRALLIANS

[Tralles was situated on the high-road which passes from Ephesus through Magnesia and Laodicea to the East. It was about seventeen or eighteen miles from Magnesia, which is almost midway between Ephesus and Tralles. Like Magnesia, Tralles probably owed its Christianity to the preaching of St. Paul's disciples. The Trallians had sent their bishop to meet Ignatius at Smyrna, and he writes to thank them. He takes occasion to warn them against false teaching and separatism, without, however, accusing them personally of these errors. The main part of the epistle (cc. 6—11) contains a strong protest against a Docetic error, of which we see a more strongly-developed form in the heresy attacked in the Epistle to the Smyrnæans. At the same time he urges upon them the duty of outward unity and obedience to their Church officers, as their best security against error. Of special interest in this connection are cc. 3, 7. There is no mention of the Judaic error condemned in the Epistle to the Magnesians.]

IGNATIUS, who is also Theophorus, to her that is beloved by God, the Father of Jesus Christ, to the holy Church which is at Tralles in Asia,¹ elect and worthy of God, having peace in flesh and spirit² through the passion of Jesus Christ, Who is our hope through the resurrection unto Him; which Church I salute in the fulness of God, after the Apostolic manner,³ and bid her heartiest greeting.

I. I have learned that you exhibit a mind which is blameless and unwavering in patient endurance, not from habit but naturally. For so your bishop, Polybius,

¹ *i. e.* the Roman province of Asia.

² The text is in some confusion, the Greek text and Armenian Versions reading 'blood' for 'spirit.' Probably, however, the longer Greek recension has preserved the correct reading, 'spirit.' The Armenian version omits 'through the passion.' This would give the sense 'being at peace through faith in, and union with, the flesh and spirit of Jesus Christ.'

³ *i. e.* in the Apostolic epistles.

has informed me, who by the will of God and Jesus Christ has been with me at Smyrna, and has so greatly shared my joy in my bonds in Christ Jesus, that in him I beheld your whole number. So then I welcomed your godly kindness manifested through him, and gave glory to God, when I found you to be, as I had learned, followers of God.

II. For whenever you are subject to the bishop as unto Jesus Christ, you appear to me to be living not the ordinary life of men, but after the manner of the life of Jesus Christ,¹ Who died for our sakes, that believing in His death you might escape death. It is necessary therefore that you should act, as indeed you do, in nothing without the bishop. But be subject also to the presbytery,² as unto the Apostles of Jesus Christ our Hope. For if we live in Him we shall be found [in Him].³ Those, too, who are deacons of the mysteries⁴ of Jesus Christ must in every way be pleasing unto all. For they are not deacons of meats and drinks,⁵ but are servants of the Church of God. So then they must be on their guard against blame⁶ as against fire.

III. In like manner⁷ let all reverence the deacons as

¹ Cf. Magn. 7. ² On this comparison see note on Magn. 6.

³ Lightfoot's reading has been followed.

⁴ This probably refers to their work as teachers, rather than to their assistance at the Eucharist. St. Paul similarly uses 'mystery' in the sense of a revealed truth. (Cf. *e.g.* Rom. xvi. 25.) The passage which follows treats of the duties of the deacon's office, not of the respect which is due to him.

⁵ The original duties of the deacon's office (Acts vi. 2) involved a considerable amount of attention to mere external business, such as the distribution of alms. Yet there was a higher aspect of the office, as from the first we find the deacons engaged in teaching (cf. Acts viii.). It is this higher aspect which Ignatius emphasizes.

⁶ Cf. 1 Tim. iii. 10.

⁷ *i.e.* there must be mutual consideration. The deacon must regard the people's wishes; the people must respect the deacon's office.

Jesus Christ,¹ as also the bishop, [regarding him] as a type of the Father,² and the presbyters as the Council of God and the band of the Apostles.³ Without these there is no church deserving of the name.⁴ Concerning these matters I am persuaded that you are thus disposed. For I have received, and still have with me, in the person of your bishop, the pattern of your love. His very demeanour is a striking lesson, and his gentleness is power—a man whom I think even those who are without God revere. It is for love of you that I thus refrain, although I might have spoken of this with greater urgency. But I thought not myself sufficient for this task of enjoining you, condemned man that I am, as though I were an apostle.

IV. I have many thoughts in God. But I keep myself within bounds, that my boasting may not prove my ruin. For now must I needs fear the more, and not give heed unto them that are puffing me up. For they who speak to me⁵ act as a scourge to me. For I welcome suffering, yet I know not whether I am worthy.

¹ On this comparison cf. Magn. 6, note. Ignatius is thinking of the relation to the Father of Jesus Christ as Son of Man, 'Who came not to be ministered unto, but to minister' (Matt. xx. 28).

² Cf. Magn. 6, note. The whole passage from 'deacons' to 'Father' exhibits great variation of text. In the first clause the Latin Version reads 'as the commandment of Jesus Christ.' In place of the word 'type,' which is read by the Syriac version and the longer Greek recension, the Greek text and Latin version read 'Son.'

³ For the ideas which suggested this twofold comparison of the presbyters, see Magn. 6, note. The word 'council' is suggested by the arrangements of the churches in early times, while the word 'band' is suggested by the earthly ministry of the Lord and His Apostles.

⁴ On the Ignatian conception of the ministry and the unity of the Church, see Introd. § 4.

⁵ Ignatius suppresses the flattering words which he fears may 'puff him up.' It is possible, however, that some words may have fallen out.

For the envy of Satan is not visible to the eyes of many,¹ but it makes war on me [the more]. I desire therefore gentleness, by which the prince of this world² is overthrown.

V. Am I not able to write unto you heavenly things? But I fear lest I may inflict harm upon you, since you are babes.³ Indeed bear with me, lest being unable to contain them, you be choked. For even though I am in bonds and am able to understand⁴ heavenly things and the ordering of angels and the musterings of heavenly rulers, things visible and invisible, yet am I not thereby already a disciple. For we suffer lack of many things, that we may not come short of God.

VI. I urge you therefore, yet not I, but the love of Jesus Christ, use only Christian food, and abstain from strange herbage,⁵ which is heresy. For they even mingle poison⁶ with Jesus Christ, imposing on men by their false professions of honesty, giving as it were a deadly drug along with honied wine, and he that is ignorant of this fearlessly drinks in death with fatal pleasure.

VII. Be on your guard then against such persons. And this will be, if you are not puffed up, and if you are inseparable from [God, even] Jesus Christ and the bishop and the commandments of the Apostles.⁷ He

¹ *i.e.* those who were seeking to procure a respite. (Cf. Rom. 7.)

² Cf. Eph. 17, note.

³ 1 Cor. iii. 1, 2.

⁴ The interest in angelology was a characteristic of the Jews in the apostolic and post-apostolic ages. From them it spread to Judaizing Christians and to Christians generally. Cf. Eph. 1. 20, 21, Col. i. 16, ii. 18. Cf. Smyrn. 6.

⁵ Cf. Eph. 10, Philad. 3.

⁶ The text is corrupt. The longer Greek recension suggests the emended reading which has been here translated. The metaphor is that of a physician who infuses poison into his drug, and disguises them by giving to them a sweet flavour.

⁷ In these last words Lightfoot sees a reference to the institution

that is within the precincts of the altar¹ is pure, he that is without the precincts of the altar is not pure. That is, he who acts in anything apart from the bishop and the presbytery and the deacons is not pure in conscience.

VIII. I write not this, because I have learned that any such evil has happened among you, but I keep guard over you beforehand, since you are my beloved, and I foresee the snares of the devil. Take up then the armour of gentleness and renew yourselves in faith,² which is the flesh of the Lord, and in love, which is the blood of Jesus Christ. Let no one among you have aught against his neighbour. Give not occasion to the heathen, that the godly multitude be not evil spoken of on account of a few foolish men. For, '*Woe*³ unto him through whom My Name is idly blasphemed before some.'

IX. Stop your ears then when any one speaks unto you apart from Jesus Christ, Who is of the race of

of the episcopate. An early tradition found in Clement of Alexandria (*Quis dives salvetur*, c. 42) and Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* iv. 5) attributes the establishment of episcopacy in Asia Minor to St. John. Irenæus (iii. 3, 4) says of Polycarp that he was appointed by apostles as bishop of the Church in Smyrna, certainly meaning to include St. John in the word 'apostles.' See Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 212.

¹ See note Eph. 5. The figure is derived from the Jewish tabernacle or temple. The man who cuts himself off from the congregation of the faithful and the common sacrifices becomes as a Gentile and outcast (Cf. Matt. xviii. 17). The congregation is here represented as gathered together under its proper officers.

² Faith is said to be the flesh of Christ, because it identifies itself with the incarnate Christ, and rests upon the facts of His outward manifestation (cf. Philad. 5). Love is said to be the blood of Christ, because Christ's death and sacrifice are the crowning expression of love, and the life which results from them is a life of love. Cf. Rom. 7. The words 'flesh' and 'blood' are doubtless suggested by the Eucharist both here and in Philad. 5.⁴ There is a somewhat similar mystical application of the words 'flesh and blood' in Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* i. 6.

³ A free quotation of Isaiah lii. 5. The words are quoted in the same form in Polyc., *Phil.* 10.

David, the child of Mary, Who was truly¹ born, and ate and drank, was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified and died, before the eyes of those in heaven and those on earth and those under the earth;² Who also was truly raised from the dead, since His Father raised Him up, Who in like manner will also raise up us who believe on Him—even His Father will raise us in Christ Jesus, apart from Whom we have not that life which is life indeed.

X. But if it be, as some godless men, that is, unbelievers, assert, that He suffered in semblance—it is they who are semblance³—why am I in bonds? Why moreover do I pray that I may fight with the wild beasts?⁴ Then I die for naught. Then I lie against the Lord.

XI. Flee therefore those evil offshoots which bear deadly fruit, whereof if a man taste, he straightway dies. For these are not a planting of the Father.⁵ For if they were, they would have been seen to be branches of the Cross,⁶ and their fruit would have been incorruptible.

¹ Docetism denied the reality of Christ's human life and sufferings. To these heretics it seemed impossible to believe that God could have come into such close contact with matter as was involved in the Incarnation. Hence the outward, earthly manifestation of Christ was explained away as an apparition. This explains Ignatius' insistence on the reality of the birth, passion and resurrection of the Lord. The word 'truly' is a watchword in this connection. (See Add. Note 1.)

² Cf. Phil. ii. 10.

³ Cf. Smyrn. 2, 4.

⁴ Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 32. The whole passage is modelled on St. Paul's words.

⁵ Cf. Matt. xv. 13.

⁶ For the metaphor, cf. Smyrn. 1. 'The symbolism of the tree of life planted in Paradise, as referring to the Cross of Christ, dates from a very early time.'—LIGHTFOOT. The language of Rev. xxii. 1, 2, would render the application easy. The fine hymn, attributed to Venantius Fortunatus, '*Pange lingua gloriosi*,' exhibits the same imagery, and contains an allusion to the tradition that the tree from

For through His Cross by His Passion He calls us unto Him, being His members. It is not possible then that a head should be born without members,¹ since God promises union, which union is Himself.

XII. I salute you from Smyrna, together with the Churches of God now present² with me, men who have refreshed me in every way both in flesh and spirit. My bonds exhort you, which I wear for Jesus Christ's sake, asking that I may attain unto God. Abide in your concord and in your prayer with one another. For it is meet that you should severally, and especially the presbyters, refresh the bishop to the honour of the Father and [to the honour] of Jesus Christ and the Apostles. I pray that you may give heed to me in love, lest by having written unto you I become a testimony against you. Moreover, pray for me too, for I have need of your love in the mercy of God, that I may be deemed worthy of the lot which I eagerly press on³ to attain, that I be not found reprobate.

XIII. The love of the Smyrnæans and the Ephesians salutes you. Remember in your prayers the Church in which the Cross was taken sprang from the seed of the Tree of Life.

De parentis protoplasti
Fraude facta condolens,
Quando pomi noxialis
Morsu in mortem corruit,
Ipse lignum tunc notavit
Damna ligni ut solveret.

¹ The denial of the Passion by these heretics cut them off from Christ and from the Divine ideal of unity appointed by God through the Cross. Ignatius is full of the thought and language of St. Paul, and especially of the Epistle to the Ephesians. (Cf. also John xvii. 21—23.)

² *i. e.* present in the persons of their representatives. (Cf. Eph. i, Magn. 2.)

³ The rendering given follows the text of Lightfoot, who adopts Bunsen's emendation, reading *ἐγχείμαι* for *περίκειμαι*. With the latter reading the meaning is, 'to obtain the lot with which I am invested.'

Syria, whereof I am not worthy to be called a member, since I am the very last of them. Farewell in Jesus Christ, submitting to the bishop as unto the commandment,¹ likewise also to the presbytery, and severally love one another with an undivided heart. My spirit devotes itself for you,² not only now but also whenever I attain unto God. For I am still in danger.³ But the Father is faithful in Jesus Christ to fulfil my petition and yours. In Him may we be found blameless.

¹ Used absolutely for God's commandment. They are to obey the bishop as they are to obey God.

² Cf. Eph. 8, note.

³ He still fears that his own weakness, or the efforts of others to procure his respite, may rob him of the martyr's crown.

IV. THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

[This epistle was one of the four letters written from Smyrna. It bears the date August 24th. While the other letters were called forth by the dangers and heresies which threatened the life of the Churches addressed, this deals with a personal matter, his own impending martyrdom. Of heresy we hear nothing. His favourite topic, Church order, is not once mentioned. Certain members of the Syrian Church had preceded Ignatius to Rome with news of his coming martyrdom. He fears that the influential Church in that city may intercede for him, and, by procuring some commutation of his sentence, rob him of the crown of martyrdom. He earnestly deprecates their interference, and expresses his own passionate desire for a martyr's death. On account of this strong personal interest the letter was more popular, and is quoted earlier, than any of the others. It became, in Lightfoot's words, a 'sort of martyr's manual,' and influenced largely the language and ideas of several of the early stories of martyrdom. The epistle was incorporated in the Antiochene Acts of the martyrdom and so became dissociated from the other letters in its transmission, being preserved in a separate set of manuscripts and translated separately. The only extant Greek manuscript which contains the epistle is the Colbertine MS. of the tenth century in the National Library at Paris, the epistle being incorporated in the Acts of the martyrdom.]

IGNATIUS, who is also Theophorus, to her that has found mercy in the bounteous power¹ of the Father most High and Jesus Christ, His only Son, to the Church that is beloved and illuminated by the will of Him that willed all things which exist, in faith and love towards Jesus Christ our God; to her that has the chief place in the district of the region of the Romans,² being

¹ For the word used here cf. Luke ix. 43, A. V., 'the mighty power of God.' It denotes an exhibition of God's power which reveals His goodness and bounty.

² These words describe merely the area over which the Roman Church exercised supervision. Cf. Tertullian, *de Præscr.* 36: 'Go through the Apostolic churches, in which the very seats of the Apostles, at this very day, preside over their own places.' Others, however, have urged that Ignatius is here maintaining the absolute

worthy of God, worthy of honour, worthy of congratulation, worthy of praise, worthy of success, worthy in purity, and holding the chief place in love,¹ following the law of Christ, bearing the Father's name; which Church also I salute in the name of Jesus Christ, Son of the Father; to them that are united in flesh and spirit with every one of His commandments, being wholly filled with the grace of God, without wavering, and strained clear from every foreign dye,² warmest greeting in Jesus Christ our God without blame.

I. My prayer to God has been heard, and I have been permitted to see your holy faces, so that I have gained even more than I was asking.³ For in bonds in Christ Jesus I hope to salute you, if it be God's will that I should be accounted worthy to reach the end.⁴ For the beginning is well ordained if I may attain the

supremacy of the Roman Church among the churches of the world, as though he said, 'To her that, being situate in the district of the region of the Romans, has the chief place [among churches].' But, as Lightfoot urges, in that case it is difficult to see why Ignatius did not write merely 'in Rome,' when describing the locality of the church. The text of the passage, however, is not above suspicion, and it has recently been suggested (Phillimore, *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, xix. (1918), p. 276) that Χριστοῦ should be read for χρωπov. The passage then runs 'to her that presides over the Romans in the place of Christ.' Cf. Magn. 6, where the Greek text and Latin version read τόπον for τύπον, 'the bishop presiding in the place of God.' Cf. also Eph. 3, Smyrn. 8.

¹ As the Church of Rome had the supremacy of rank among the churches in the region around it, so too was it foremost among them in works of love. Dionysius of Corinth (c. A.D. 175) testifies to the world-wide clarity of the Roman Church (Euseb. *II. E.* iv. 23).

² The 'foreign dye' is the colouring-matter which pollutes the purity of a stream. The Church had been kept pure from grave errors of doctrine and life. For the metaphor cf. Philad. 3.

³ He had asked that he might visit Rome. His prayer had been granted, with the further favour that he was privileged to visit it as a prisoner of Jesus Christ, soon to be glorified by a martyr's death.

⁴ That is, the goal of his ambition, martyrdom.

end and so receive my inheritance without hindrance. For I fear lest your very love should do me wrong. For you may easily do what you will.¹ But for me it is difficult to attain unto God, unless you spare me.

II. For I would not that you should please men, but that you should please God,² as indeed you do. For I shall never have such an opportunity of attaining unto God, nor can you, if you keep silent, be credited³ with a nobler deed. For if you keep silent and spare me, I am a word of God, but if you crave for my flesh, I shall again be a mere voice.⁴ [Nay] give me nothing

¹ Christianity had already found its way into the higher ranks of Roman society. In the reign of Domitian (95 A.D.) the consul, Flavius Clemens, a cousin of the Emperor, had been executed, and his wife banished on a charge which has been proved to have arisen from their profession of Christianity. Ignatius is afraid that influence in high quarters will result in his respite. Lucian the heathen satirist, who wrote about 165 A.D., describes the efforts made by the Christians to procure the release of their imprisoned brethren (*De morte Peregrini*, c. 12).

² Cf. 1 Thess. ii. 4.

³ 'Be credited,' literally, 'have your name attached to.' An allusion probably, as Zahn suggests, to the practice of craftsmen, who inscribe their names on the work they have completed. The idea of Ignatius is that his martyrdom will be a great achievement, in which they will have their part by restraining their desire to intercede for him.

⁴ There is a distinction here between λόγος, 'a word,' expressing the intelligible utterance of a rational being and φωνή, which denotes a mere irrational cry. Both words occur in the opening chapter of St. John's Gospel, λόγος, 'the Word,' being used of the Eternal Son of God, as Revealer of the Father, while St. John the Baptist describes himself as φωνή, 'a mere voice of one crying,' i. e. a mere impersonal instrument. See John i. 1, 14, 23. Thus the thought of Ignatius is, 'My death will render my life intelligible as a living message to man from God, whereas, if I am spared, my life will be as destitute of meaning as the cry of an irrational animal.'

The text of the passage, however, shows considerable variation, probably due to alteration through failure to see the above distinction. The Greek text and the Armenian version read instead of φωνή the word τρέχων, which Lightfoot understands to mean that Ignatius 'would be put back again to run the race.' Similarly the word λόγος has been changed to γενήσομαι ('I shall belong to

more than that I may be poured out as a libation to God,¹ while yet there is an altar ready, that forming a choir in love you may sing to the Father in Jesus Christ, because God has granted that the bishop from Syria² should be found in the West, having summoned him from the East. Good it is for my sun to set from the world unto God, that it may rise unto Him.³

III. You have never grudged⁴ any man. Others you have instructed.⁵ But I would that those lessons, which you enjoin in your teaching, may endure.⁶ Only ask that I may find power within and without, that I may not only say it, but may desire it, that I may not only

God,' instead of, 'I shall be a word of God' probably because of the seeming irreverence in attributing the title, 'word of God,' to any one but our Lord.

¹ The 'libation,' the 'altar,' and the 'choir,' are suggested by the ritual of a heathen sacrifice. For a similar metaphor cf. Eph. 9.

² The genitive *Συρίας* is probably here equivalent to little more than an adjective, 'the Syrian bishop,' or 'the bishop from Syria.' It must not be understood to imply jurisdiction over the whole of Syria, as though it were the equivalent of *τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίας*, 'bishop of the church which is in Syria.' The organization of large dioceses was of later growth, and followed the lines of Roman imperial administration. The bishop of the second and third centuries resembled, so far as the extent of his administration went, the rector of a town parish in modern times. See Introd. p. 34 note.

³ Ignatius plays on the words *δυοῖς*, 'West,' lit. 'setting of the sun,' and *ἀνατολή*, 'East,' lit. 'rising of the sun.'

⁴ *ἐβασκάνετε*, lit. 'envied.' The word is found in Gal. iii. 1, and means literally 'to bewitch,' with special reference to the power of the evil eye. The derived notion of 'envy' follows from this use. Ignatius means 'You have never grudged any one the honour of martyrdom.'

⁵ Probably a reference to the encouragement and exhortations given to previous martyrs by the Roman Christians. The particular form, however, of the following sentence rather favours the view that Ignatius is referring to some definite, written charge upon the subject, such as is found in the letter of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, which contains exhortations to follow the example of the martyrs.

⁶ Ignatius expresses the hope that they will not depart, in his own case, from the principles of the teaching which they have given to others on the subject of martyrdom.

be called but be found a Christian. For if I be found a Christian, then can I also receive the name; then too can I be faithful when I am not visible to the world. Nothing that is visible is good.¹ For our God, Jesus Christ, is the more clearly visible now that He is in the Father.² The Work is not of persuasive eloquence,³ but Christianity is a thing of might whenever it is hated by the world.

IV. I write unto all the churches, and charge them all to know that I die willingly for God, if you hinder not. I intreat you, do not unseasonably befriend me. Suffer me to belong to the wild beasts, through whom I may attain unto God. I am God's grain, and I am ground by the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be found pure bread.⁴ Rather entice the wild beasts to become my tomb, and to leave naught of my body, that I may not, when I have fallen asleep, prove a burden to any man.⁵

¹ 'Visible,' *e.g.* material and transient. Cf. 2 Cor. iv. 18. Ignatius is speaking of the material world as it exists apart from God. On his general view of the relations of 'spirit' and 'matter,' see *Intro.* § 4.

² A paradox. Christ's true power, manifested in the life of the Church, is more clearly seen now that He has passed out of the sight of human eyes, than it was when in His earthly life He was subject to the malice and misunderstanding of men.

³ Cf. Eph. 14. 'The Work' is the Gospel. Christianity is not a matter of words but of deeds. Cf. the old motto 'taire et faire.'

⁴ Some MSS. add, after 'bread,' the words 'of Christ,' while others have 'of God,' and others omit both. The figure in this passage is suggested by the sacrificial loaves which were offered both among Jews and Gentiles. Lightfoot would see a more definite reference to the Pentecostal loaves (Lev. xxiii. 17). The 'pure' bread is that which was made of the finest flour. Ignatius is the grain which is ground by the teeth of the beasts and fitted for an offering to God.

⁵ He is thinking of the difficulties likely to attend his burial. The spurious Acts of the martyrdom vary in their account of the treatment of his reliques. The Antiochene Acts narrate (c. 6) that only the tougher parts of his reliques were left, and that these were carried back to Antioch and laid in a sarcophagus. The Roman

Then shall I truly be a disciple of Jesus Christ, when the world shall not see even my body. Intreat the Lord for me, that by these instruments¹ I may be found a sacrifice unto God. I do not enjoin you in the manner of Peter and Paul.² They were Apostles, I am a condemned man. They were free, I, until this moment, am a slave. But if I suffer, I am Jesus Christ's freedman,³ and in Him I shall arise free. Now in my bonds I am learning to give up all desires.

V. From Syria unto Rome I am fighting with wild beasts⁴ by land and sea, by night and day, bound to

Acts state that the beasts only crushed him to death, without touching his flesh, 'that his reliques might be a protection to the great city of the Romans' (c. 10). On the later history of his reliques see *Introd.* § 3.

¹ That is, the wild beasts.

² Both these Apostles had been connected with the Roman Church. Their names also appear in conjunction in the letter written by Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, c. 5. St. Peter's residence at Rome, with his martyrdom there, rests on too strong evidence to be rejected. It is explicitly mentioned by a succession of Christian writers in the latter half of the second century, *i.e.* by Dionysius of Corinth, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria. The 'Church in Babylon' in 1 Pet. v. 13 is now generally understood to refer to Rome. Finally, the Roman presbyter Gaius tells us that in his day (*circa* 200 A.D.) the tombs of the two Apostles were to be seen on the Vatican and Ostian Ways. On the other hand the evidence for their martyrdom at the same time is slender, being derived from the statement of Dionysius of Corinth, who wrote in the second half of the second century (c. 175 A.D.), and was not intimately connected with the Roman Church. Accordingly some recent scholars have rejected his statement and incline to the view that St. Peter was the survivor of St. Paul. This would help to account for the greater prominence of his name in later days in the memory of the Roman Church. See Ramsay, *Ch. in R. E.*, p. 279 ff.; Sanday, *Expositor*, IV. vii. p. 411 f.; Swete, *St. Mark*, p. xvii f.

³ 1 Cor. vii. 22..

⁴ *θηριομαχῶ*. Based on 1 Cor. xv. 32, where it is used metaphorically of human opponents. Here the usage is similar, but also looks forward to the literal fulfilment of the words in his coming death.

ten leopards,¹ that is, a company of soldiers,² whose usage grows still harsher when they are liberally treated.³ Yet through their unjust doings I am more truly learning discipleship. *Yet am I not hereby justified.*⁴ May I have joy of the beasts that are prepared for me. I pray too that they may prove expeditious with me. I will even entice them to devour me expeditiously, and not to refrain, as they have refrained from some,⁵ through fear. And even though they are not willing without constraint,⁶ I will compel them. Pardon me. I know what is expedient for me. Now I am beginning to be a disciple. May naught of things visible or invisible seek to allure⁷ me; that I may attain unto Jesus Christ.

¹ It has been urged that the use of this word is an anachronism and a proof that this letter is not genuine, the word not being found in any writer of the second century. Lightfoot, however, refers to its use in a rescript of the Emperors Marcus and Commodus (A.D. 177-180), and a still earlier use by Galen about half a century after the time of Ignatius. The word is probably of Roman origin, and Lightfoot shows that it was already in process of formation in the time of Pliny some thirty or forty years before this time. Syrian leopards are mentioned by Vopiscus as having been exhibited by the Emperor Probus. See Lightfoot *in loco*.

² His escort consisted of ten soldiers, who relieved one another in turn. Like St. Paul (Acts xxviii. 16, 20), Ignatius was attached by a 'coupling-chain' to a guard by night and day.

³ This probably refers to the sums of money given to the soldiers by friends of Ignatius to procure for him better treatment. This common Christian practice is alluded to in Lucian's famous satire on the Christians, *De Morte Peregrini*, c. 12.

⁴ 1 Cor. iv. 4.

⁵ Cf. Euseb. *H. E.* viii. 7, where similar instances are cited in the case of the Egyptian martyrs. Similar incidents are recorded of the martyrs of Vienne in 177 A.D. (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1). In the present passage Ramsay, following Zahn, thinks that there is a reference to the story of Thecla as contained in a first-century document on which he supposes the Acts of Paul and Thecla to be based (*Ch. in R. Emp.* pp. 381, 404).

⁶ Lightfoot, however, translates 'to devour me, though I am ready.'

⁷ *ζηλώσαι*. Cf. Gal. iv. 17; 2 Cor. xi. 2. In both those passages, and probably in the present passage, there is the idea of assiduous attention. Lightfoot, however, understands the word to mean 'envy.'

Come fire and cross and conflicts with wild beasts.¹ wrenching of bones, mangling of limbs, crushing of the whole body ; come grievous torments of the devil upon me,—only may they aid me in attaining unto Jesus Christ.

VI. The furthest bounds of the universe, and the kingdoms of this world shall profit me nothing. It is better for me to die for the sake of Jesus Christ than to reign over the boundaries of the earth. Him I seek Who died for us. Him I desire, Who rose [for our sakes]. My travail-pains are upon me.² Forgive me, brethren. Hinder me not from entering into life : desire not my death. Bestow not upon the world him who desires to be God's ; nor tempt me with the things of this life. Suffer me to receive pure light. When I come thither then shall I be a man indeed. Suffer me to be an imitator of the passion of my God. If any man has Him dwelling in him, let him understand what I desire, and have fellow-feeling with me, knowing what constrains me.

VII. The prince of this world³ desires to make me his spoil⁴ and corrupt my purpose towards God. Let none of you then who are at hand assist him. Rather be on my side, that is, belong to God. Use not the words 'Jesus Christ' and yet desire the world. Let not envy make its dwelling within you. Even though I should come and intreat you, hearken not even to me, but rather trust these words which I write unto you. For I write unto you in the midst of life, enamoured

¹ The Greek text and the Armenian Version in the Martyrology add here 'gashes and rendings.'

² Ignatius represents both mother and child. The pains are the agonies of martyrdom, which result in the birth of the new Ignatius, born into the higher life.

³ Cf. Eph. 17 note.

⁴ Cf. Mark iii. 27.

of death. My Love¹ has been crucified, and there is not within me any fire of earthly desire,² but only water that lives³ and speaks in me,⁴ and says from within me, 'Come hither to the Father.' I have no pleasure in the food of corruption nor in the pleasures of this material life. I desire God's bread,⁵ which is the flesh of Christ, Who is of the seed of David,⁶ and for drink I desire His blood, which is love incorruptible.⁷

¹ *ἔρως*. This word has been understood in two widely different senses—

(a) Zahn and Lightfoot understand it to mean 'love' in the lower sense of 'lust,' 'passion.' According to this view Ignatius declares that he has crucified the carnal passions of his nature. In the only two passages of the LXX where the word occurs, it bears this sense. See Prov. vii. 18, xxx. 16. It does not occur in the N. T., which uses *ἀγάπη* to denote 'love.'

(b) An interpretation which has been current since the time of Origen's *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, refers *ἔρως* objectively to Christ. 'My Love has been crucified.' And so the words were commonly understood by later writers. This interpretation is rejected by Zahn and Lightfoot, but it has found a fresh defender in Dr. C. Bigg (*Bampton Lectures*, p. viii f.). He shows fairly conclusively that *ἔρως* and its cognates may be used in a higher sense, and also that *ἔρως* may be used of the object of love. This sense agrees too with the context. Ignatius is 'in love' with death, 'because Christ, his Beloved, is crucified, and perfect union with Him will be attained by death.' His love for Christ draws him away from material things. On the whole this interpretation, perhaps, suits best the highly imaginative fervour of the passage.

² Reading with Zahn and Lightfoot *φιλόθυλον* = 'loving matter,' 'carnal.'

³ The phrase 'living water' recalls John iv. 10, 11. For its use in connection with the Spirit, see John vii. 38-39.

⁴ The words *καὶ λαλοῦν* ('water . . . that speaketh') are probably corrupt. If retained they must be held to refer to the prophetic power said to be imparted by certain springs to those who drank them. Lightfoot thinks that the longer Greek recension has here preserved the true text, *ἀλλόμενον* for *καὶ λαλοῦν*. This would present a further parallel to St. John's Gospel (iv. 14), and the passage would run, 'water that lives and springs up.'

⁵ Cf. John vi. 33, and the section John vi. 48-59.

⁶ Cf. Eph. 18. Ignatius may have the Docetic teachers in mind. Only if Christ has become truly incarnate, is it possible for our manhood to be united with God.

⁷ See note on Trall. 8. The parallelism of that passage suggests

VIII. I desire no longer to live the common life of men. And this will be granted, if it is your desire. Desire it, that you too may be desired. In a short letter I entreat you. Believe me, Jesus Christ shall make this clear to you, that I speak truly—even He Who is the Mouth which cannot speak falsely, whereby the Father spake [truly]. Intreat for me, that I may attain in the Holy Spirit. I write not unto you after the flesh, but after the mind of God. If I suffer, it is because you desired it. If I be rejected, it is because of your hatred.

IX. Remember in your prayer¹ the Church in Syria, since it hath God as its shepherd² in my room. Jesus Christ alone shall be its bishop³—together with your love. But as for me, I am ashamed to be spoken of as one of them. Nor indeed am I worthy, since I am the last of them and one born out of due time;⁴ but I have received mercy that I should be some one, if haply I may attain unto God. My spirit salutes you, as also does the love of the churches which received me in the name of Jesus Christ, not as one that merely passed by, for even the churches which lay not⁵ naturally near to my route went before me from city to city.⁶

X. I write this unto you from Smyrna by the hand of the Ephesians⁷ who are worthy of congratulation.

that the clause 'which is love incorruptible' refers to 'His Blood.' Then love is regarded as the means of union with the incarnate Christ, or, better still, as the fruit and issue of that union. Zahn, however, refers the words to the whole preceding sentence. 'The participation in the flesh and blood of Christ is love incorruptible.' He sees in it a reference to the Agape or Love-Feast.

¹ Cf. Eph. 21.

² Cf. 1 Pet. ii. 25, v. 2.

³ Cf. Polyc. inscr.

⁴ Suggested by 1 Cor. xv. 8 sq. See Introd. § 3.

⁵ The shorter Syriac version omits the negative.

⁶ That is, to prepare his welcome.

⁷ So Lightfoot. But it is possible that here, as in Philad. 11, Smyrn. 12, the preposition used (*διὰ*) refers to the bearer rather

There is with me also, along with many others, Crocus, a name dear to me. Concerning those who went before me from Syria to Rome unto the glory of God I believe that you have received full tidings. Inform them also of my approach. For they are all worthy of God and of you, and it is fitting that you should in every way refresh them. I am writing this to you on the 9th day before the Kalends of September. Farewell unto the end in patient abiding for Jesus Christ.

than to the scribe of the epistle. Cf. Polycarp, *Phil.* 14, and 1 Pet. v. 12, in the former of which the bearer seems referred to.

V. THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILADELPHIANS.

[Philadelphia, a city of Lydia, lay upon the great road which connected Northern Phrygia and Galatia with Sardis and touched the Ægean at Smyrna. It does not appear to have attained any great importance, but from the number of its temples and festivals it received the name of 'little Athens.' This shows that it was a stronghold of the ancient religion. The first mention of the Christian Church there is in Rev. iii. 7-13. It probably dates from the stay of St. Paul at Ephesus (see Acts xix.). Already in Rev. iii. 9 the mention of the Jews occupies an important place, and there are traces of Judaistic error. But the Church as a whole receives high commendation (Rev. iii. 8, 10). In after days the city won great renown for its long resistance to the Turks, but it finally capitulated in 1390 A.D. The present city, Ala-Shehr, contains a considerable Christian population under a resident Greek bishop.

Ignatius had passed through Philadelphia (cc. 1, 6, 7) and Smyrna on his way to Troas. Accordingly, whereas in writing to the Ephesians, Trallians, and Magnesians, he warns them generally against heresy, without directly charging them with it, in the present epistle he is dealing with the dangers actually existing in a Church with which he is personally acquainted.

The heresy which he attacks is plainly Judaistic (cc. 6, 8, 9), of a strongly developed character. The false teachers had organized themselves apparently into a schism (cc. 3, 7). The traces of Docetism are only incidental (see inscr. and cc. 3, 8). They are not sufficient to justify the view that the heresy was current at Philadelphia (see Add. Note 1). Nor is it necessary with Harnack (*Expositor*, March 1886, and *Chronologic*, pp. 389 n., 393 n.) to see in cc. 8, 9 traces of a third tendency. The passages most naturally refer to the Judaistic teachers. See notes

This epistle was one of the three epistles written from Troas. Ignatius had been joined at that place by two friends, who had followed his route, and had stayed at Philadelphia. There they had been welcomed by the Church as a whole, but had in some way been slighted, probably by the heretical party, who also appear to have brought false charges against Ignatius (see cc. 6, 11). These incidents called forth the present letter.]

IGNATIUS, who is also Theophorus, to the Church of God the Father and Jesus Christ which is at

Philadelphia in Asia,¹ to her who has received mercy and is established in godly concord and rejoices in the passion² of our Lord and in His resurrection without wavering, being fully persuaded in all mercy; her I salute in the blood of Jesus Christ; seeing that it is eternal and enduring joy, especially if they be at one with the bishop and with the presbyters who are with him, and with the deacons appointed according to the mind³ of Jesus Christ; whom of His own will He established, confirming them by His Holy Spirit.

I. For I perceived that this bishop of yours did not owe to himself or to the agency of men⁴ his ministry, which pertains to the common good, nor does he hold it with vain glory, but in the love of God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. For I have been amazed at his forbearance; who by his silence effects more than those who speak. For he is tuned in harmony⁵ with the commandments as a lyre with its strings. Therefore my soul blesses his godly purpose, perceiving that it is virtuous and perfect, even his unruffled and quiet spirit, since he lives in all godly forbearance.⁶

II. As children therefore of truth flee division and false doctrines, and where the shepherd is there follow as

¹ *i. e.* in the Roman province of Asia. According to local divisions Philadelphia was in Lydia.

² Ignatius is continually dwelling on the Passion of Christ. It is possible that here, as Lightfoot suggests, his language is influenced by the remembrance of the Docetic denial of the Passion.

³ The appointment of these deacons by the Church and its officers had been confirmed by the gift of the Holy Spirit, conveying to them the sanction of Christ Himself.

⁴ An echo of Gal. i. 1.

⁵ The metaphor here is confused and difficult. Unless the text is corrupt, and we read in the last part of the sentence, 'as the strings with the lyre,' we must attribute the expression to the extreme haste of composition, which this epistle exhibits also in other parts.

⁶ The words may also mean, 'in all forbearance inspired by a living God.'

sheep. For there are many wolves¹ who by specious professions lead captive with fatal pleasures the runners in God's course ;² but while you continue in unity these shall have no place.

III. Abstain from evil herbs,³ whose husbandman⁴ is not Jesus Christ, because they are not the planting of the Father.⁵ I say not this because I found division among you but rather sifting.⁶ For as many as are of God and Jesus Christ, these are with the bishop. And as many as repent and enter the unity of the Church, they also shall belong to God, that they may be living according to Jesus Christ. Be not deceived, my brethren. If any one follow a man that causes schism, he does not inherit God's kingdom. If any man walks in strange opinions, he has no part in the passion.

IV. Therefore give heed to keep one Eucharist.⁷ For there is one flesh⁸ of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup unto union with His blood. There is one altar,⁹ as

¹ This recalls Matt. vii. 15. Cf. John x. 12, Acts xx. 29.

² The favourite Pauline metaphor. Cf. Gal. v. 7, 1 Cor. ix. 24 sq.

³ Cf. Trall. 6. ⁴ Cf. John xv. 1, 1 Cor. iii. 9.

⁵ Cf. Matt. xv. 13, and see Trall. 11.

⁶ The Philadelphians had separated themselves from these heretics. Hence Ignatius will not use the word 'division,' which might imply censure, but uses instead, 'sifting,' literally 'filtering.' Cf. Rom. inscr.

⁷ Cf. Smyrn. 8. With the exception of the reference in the *Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*, c. 9, these passages of Ignatius are the earliest certain instances of the name 'Eucharist' applied to the Holy Communion. In Clement of Rome, c. 41, however, the verb *εὐχαριστεῖν*, 'to give thanks,' is used of the public service of the Church, and probably refers to the Eucharist.

⁸ Cf. 1 Cor. x. 16, 17, which probably suggested this language.

⁹ *θυσιαστήριον*. See Magn. 7 (note). As we have seen, in that passage the word means probably 'the court of the altar,' a sense which it plainly bears in Eph. 5 and Trall. 7. The idea was suggested by the arrangements of the Jewish tabernacle and temple. This may be the sense in Rev. xi. 1, as it is in Clement of Rome, c. 41. The common idea underlying all these passages is 'a place of sacrifice,' or 'a sanctuary.' In the present passage the 'sanctuary'

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there is one bishop, together with the presbytery and deacons, my fellow-servants; that whatsoever you do, you may do according unto God.

V. My brethren, my soul is wholly poured out in love for you. And because I rejoice exceedingly, I put you on your guard, yet not I, but Jesus Christ, whose prisoner I am: and therefore I fear the more, since I am not yet perfected. But your prayer unto God shall perfect me, that I may attain unto that lot,¹ in which I have obtained mercy, because I took refuge in the Gospel as the flesh² of Jesus, and the Apostles³ as the presbytery of the

is the Christian assembly gathered round the Eucharist, and forming the counterpart of the congregation of Israel. There is no certain and undisputed instance of the use of the word 'altar' to denote the Holy Table before Irenæus (iv. 18. 6). 'The idea of the whole transaction of the Supper as a sacrifice is plainly found in the *Didachē* (c. 14), in Ignatius, and, above all, in Justin (I. 65 f.).' —Harnack (*Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr. I. 209). The passage from the *Didachē* (or *Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*) urges that the celebration of the Eucharist should begin with a confession of sin, 'that our sacrifice may be pure.' Alike in the *Didachē* and in Justin Martyr we find the prophecy Malachi i. 11 quoted and applied to the Eucharist. Similarly Clement of Rome (cc. 40–44) compares the bishops and deacons with the Priests and Levites of the Old Testament, and mentions as the chief duty of the former 'to offer the gifts.' In addition to the prayers and thanksgivings (Smyrn. 6, Eph. 13, cf. *Didachē* 9), the alms (cf. Polyc. *Phil.* 4), and oblations of bread and wine (cf. Clement, cited *supra*), which were regarded as sacrifices, the association of these with the commemoration of Christ's sacrifice and 'the gift of God' in the Sacrament (Smyrn. 7, cf. Eph. 20), constituted the Christian sacrifice or thankoffering (Eucharist). See Justin, *Trypho* 41, and Irenæus, iv. 17. 5.

¹ That is, martyrdom. Cf. Trall. 12.

² Cf. Trall. 8, note. The outward manifestations of Christ in His Incarnation is the substance of the Gospel. Zahn suggests the further thought that after the Ascension the preaching of the Gospel took the place of the earthly manifestation of the Lord.

³ The 'Gospel' and the 'Apostles' plainly refer to the authorities on which Ignatius bases his faith. Some have seen in the words an allusion to two distinct collections of writings, *i. e.* our four Gospels and the collection of the Apostolic epistles. From the fact that Polycarp in his one short epistle quotes nine out of the thirteen

Church. And the prophets moreover we love,¹ because they too looked forward to the Gospel in their preaching, and hoped in Him and waited for Him; in Whom also they believed and were saved² in the unity of Jesus Christ, for they were worthy of our love and admiration, being holy men, testified of by Jesus Christ and enrolled together in the Gospel of our common hope.

VI. If any man in his interpretation³ set forth Judaism unto you, hear him not. For it is better to hear Christianity from one who is circumcised than to hear Judaism from an uncircumcised man.⁴ But if both speak not of Jesus Christ, I reckon them to be tombstones and graves of the dead,⁵ whereon are inscribed merely names of men. Flee therefore the malicious arts and snares of the prince of this world,⁶ lest being worn out by his suggestions you grow weak in love. But meet together, all of you, with an

epistles of St. Paul we may conclude that he possessed a collection of these epistles. In the time of Justin (*circa* 150 A.D.) we learn that gospels were read at the Sunday Eucharist. We should be assuming, however, too much in saying that in the time of Ignatius the collection of the four gospels had acquired a fixed authority side by side with that of the old Testament prophets, and distinct from the Apostolic epistles. The words are probably a more general expression for the Gospel as publicly taught and set forth in the writings, whether gospels or epistles, of the Apostles.

¹ Probably Ignatius has in mind the Judaizers who set up the authority of the Old Testament books and priesthood (cf. c. 9) against the Gospel. He may be replying to some charge laid against the teaching of the Church as disparaging the Old Testament. For his treatment of the prophets cf. Magn. 8 (notes).

² Cf. Magn. 9 (notes).

³ That is, the interpretation of the Old Testament and especially the prophets. The allusion is to the interpretations of the Judaizers.

⁴ The uncircumcised man is a Gentile Christian who has a tendency to Judaistic practices. Among such practices circumcision was evidently at this time not included. This corresponds with what we know of the later developments of Ebionism.

⁵ Cf. Matt. xxiii. 27. Harnack sees in the following words a reference to Rev. iii. 12.

⁶ Cf. Eph. 17 (note).

undivided heart. I thank my God that I have a good conscience in regard to you, and no man can boast that either in secret or openly I have been burdensome to any one¹ in things great or small. Yea, and for all among whom I have spoken I pray that my words may not prove to be a witness against them.

VII. For even if after the flesh some wished to lead me astray, yet the Spirit is not deceived since it is from God. For it knoweth whence it cometh and whither it goeth,² and it convicts the things which are in secret. I cried aloud, when I was among you,³ I spake with a loud voice, with the voice of God, 'Give heed unto the bishop and the presbytery and deacons.' But they suspected⁴ that I said this because I knew beforehand the division caused by some;⁵ yet He is my witness, Whose prisoner I am, that I learned it not from human flesh. But it was the Spirit⁶ Who kept preaching in these words: 'Do nothing without the bishop. Keep your flesh as a shrine of God. Love union. Flee divisions. Become followers of Jesus Christ as He also was of the Father.'

¹ Cf. 2 Cor. xi. 9, xii. 16, 1 Thess. ii. 6. Probably Ignatius is meeting some charge made against himself in reference to his conduct while at Philadelphia. The charge may refer to overhearing conduct. How he came to know of such charges is explained in c. II.

² In addition to John iii. 8, there are parallels to the expression 'knoweth not whence . . . goeth' in John viii. 14, ix. 29, xii. 35, 1 John ii. 11, and other passages. On the affinities of thought and language between the Epistles of Ignatius and the Fourth Gospel see *Introd.* p. 29.

³ On the route of Ignatius, see *Introd.* § 3.

⁴ The text is in some confusion. Lightfoot's reading has been adopted.

⁵ The Judaistic party had plainly organized themselves into a schism. Cf. c. 3.

⁶ Ignatius here speaks of himself as the recipient of a spiritual revelation. The gift of prophecy had not yet died out. Similarly Polycarp is called 'an apostolic and prophetic teacher' (*Mart. Polyc.* 16).

VIII. I therefore have done my own part as a man perfectly established in union. But where there is division and wrath, God dwells not. Therefore the Lord forgives all that repent, if on their repentance they turn to the unity of God and the council of the bishop. I believe in the grace of Jesus Christ, Who shall loose from off you every bond.¹ Moreover; I entreat you, act not in any matter in the spirit of faction, but as disciples of Christ. For I have heard some saying, 'Except I find it in the archives² I believe it not in the Gospel.' And when I said to them, 'It is written,'³ they answered me, 'That is the question in dispute.' But my archives⁴ are Jesus Christ; the inviolable

¹ Cf. Is. lviii. 6, which is quoted by several early Christian writers. The bond refers probably, as Lightfoot says, to the power of evil generally.

² The Greek text and the Latin version read in place of 'archives' a word which may be translated either 'ancient writings' or 'ancient writers.' But as the word 'archives' occurs twice below it should probably be read in this place also. The word originally means 'a place where records are kept,' and then came to be used of the documents themselves. The reference here is to a collection of ancient authoritative records, *i. e.* the Old Testament, which these writers set up as an authority against the Gospel, and with which they required the Gospel to agree. Others, however, understand 'archives' to mean the original copies of the Gospel, with which is contrasted the traditional Gospel as preached and taught. These teachers would then be represented as claiming that the Gospel had been falsified, and we should translate, 'Except I find it in the archives, that is, in the (written) Gospel, I do not believe it.' This rendering, however, gives an unjustifiable sense to the word 'Gospel' and does not suit the argument of the chapter so well.

³ Ignatius claims that the points in question are found in the Old Testament. The allusion is doubtless to the Cross, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus Christ, which were a stumbling-block alike to Judaizers and to those who held Docetic views. A similar appeal to the Old Testament had been made in the first age of the Church. Cf. Luke xxiv. 26, 46; Acts xvii. 3.

⁴ Ignatius, though above he has claimed that the Old Testament witnesses to Christ, here maintains that the relation of Christ to the teachers of the Old Covenant is not one of dependence. He is Himself the supreme authority, and His Passion and Resurrection

archives are His Cross and Death and Resurrection, and the faith which is through Him. In these I desire to be justified through your prayer.

IX. Good¹ indeed are the priests, but better is the High-Priest,² Who has been entrusted with the Holy of Holies, for He alone has been entrusted with the secret things of God. He is Himself the Door³ of the Father, through which enter in Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and the Prophets and the Apostles and the Church. All these combine in the unity of God.⁴ But the Gospel has a surpassing gift—even the coming of the Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ, His Passion, His Resurrection. For the Prophets, who are dear to us, in their preaching looked forward to Him. But the Gospel is the crown of incorruption. All things alike are good, if you believe by love.

X. Seeing that, in accordance with your prayer and the tender love which you have in Christ Jesus, it has been reported to me⁵ that the Church which is at

authenticate His mission. Cf. Magn. 8, 10 with notes. Below in c. 9 he further maintains that Christ is the Door through Whom the men of the Old Covenant must find entrance to God.

¹ Here, as in the previous chapter, Ignatius is making concessions to the Judaizers. He grants the excellence of the Old Covenant, but maintains the superiority of the Gospel, which centres in Jesus Christ.

² This word and the passage which follows seem to show that Ignatius is reproducing the ideas of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is also quoted by Clement of Rome, c. 36. Cf. especially Heb. ix., x.

³ An allusion to John x. 9. Cf. also Rev. iii. 8, and Clem. Rom. 48. Similarly in the Shepherd of Hermas (S. ix. 4, 12, 15), in the building of the Church, the gate through which the stones are carried is the Son of God, and among the stones built into the fabric are some which represent the righteous men and prophets of old.

⁴ The Old Covenant finds its true place in the Divine unity of revelation, which receives its crowning expression in the Incarnation.

⁵ The tidings would be brought by the persons mentioned in c. II.

Antioch in Syria is at peace, it is fitting that you, as a Church of God, should appoint¹ a deacon to journey thither as an ambassador of God, to rejoice with them when they are met together, and to glorify the Name. Blessed in Jesus Christ is he who shall be deemed worthy of such a ministry. You too shall be glorified. Moreover, if you desire it, it is not impossible for you to do this for God's Name; even as the churches which lie nearest have sent bishops, and others presbyters and deacons.

XI. Concerning Philo, the deacon from Cilicia, a man well reported of, who even now is ministering for me in the word of God,² together with Rhaius Agathopus, an elect man, who accompanies me from Syria, having bidden farewell to the ordinary life of men; who also bear witness unto you—I too thank God for you, that you received them, as the Lord shall receive you. May they who treated them dishonourably be ransomed by the grace of Jesus Christ. The love of the brethren who are at Troas salutes you, whence also I write unto you by the hand of Burrhus,³ who was sent with me by them of Ephesus and Smyrna to do me honour. They shall receive honour from the Lord Jesus Christ, in Whom they hope in flesh, soul, spirit, by faith, love, concord. Farewell in Jesus Christ, our common Hope.

¹ Cf. similar directions in Smyrn. 11, Polyc. 7.

² Or, as Zahn, 'ministering to me in the cause of God.'

³ So Lightfoot. But Burrhus may have been the bearer of the epistle. See note on Rom. 10.

VI. THE EPISTLE TO THE SMYRNÆANS.

[Smyrna was one of the oldest of the Greek cities on the west coast of Asia. During the first and second centuries A.D. it vied with Ephesus and Pergamos in claiming the title 'first city of Asia.' Of the foundation of the Church at Smyrna we have no record in the New Testament, but it may possibly be placed at some period during St. Paul's three years' residence at Ephesus, as it was within easy reach of that city and was a great centre of trade. We have a picture of the Church in this city in Rev. ii. 8-11. That passage contains an allusion to persecution (ii. 10), and also to the hostility and calumnies of the Jews (ii. 9). Ignatius had stayed at Smyrna and had received a warm welcome from the Church and its bishop Polycarp. The number of salutations would point to his having made many friends there. The present letter was written from Troas. The rapid transition, immediately after the opening salutation, to the subject of the Docetic heresy (cc. 1-7) seems to show that the Church at Smyrna had been endangered by its presence. Moreover in c. 7 Ignatius warns his readers against associating with these heretics. The epistle contains the most detailed account of Docetism to be found in the Ignatian writings. From c. 6 we learn that these heretics had neglected the practical duties of Christianity. From cc. 7, 8 it appears that they had formed into separatist communities (see notes). Hence the heresy is probably of a more developed character than that referred to in the epistles to the Ephesians and Trallians. There are, however, no allusions to Judaism unless we except cc. 5, 7. The opening words of c. 1 indicate that as yet the Church had remained steadfast. In cc. 7, 8 there is a strong statement of the unity of the Church. Of special interest is the occurrence for the first time in Christian literature of the phrase 'the Catholic Church']

IGNATIUS, who is also Theophorus, to the Church of God the Father and Jesus Christ the Beloved,¹ to her that has been mercifully blessed with every gift, filled with faith and love, lacking in no gift, most highly revered, the bearer of sacred vessels,² to the Church

¹ Cf. Eph. i. 6.

² ἀγιοφόρος, 'fruitful in saints,' Wake, following Pearson. Probably, however, the idea is the same as in Eph. 9, and contains an

which is at Smyrna in Asia, in a blameless spirit and in the word of God heartiest greeting.

I. I render glory to Jesus Christ the God¹ Who has given you such wisdom. For I have perceived that you are firmly settled in unwavering faith, being nailed, as it were, to the Cross of the Lord Jesus Christ² in flesh and spirit, and firmly planted in love in the blood of Christ, being fully convinced as touching our Lord that He is truly of the race of David after the flesh, and Son of God after the Divine will and power,³ truly born of a virgin, baptized by John, that all righteousness might be fulfilled by Him,⁴ under Pontius Pilate and Herod the Tetrarch⁵ truly nailed for us in the flesh (of Whose fruit are we,⁶ even of His most blessed Passion); that

allusion to the heathen ceremonial. 'The "sacred vessels" which the Church of Smyrna bears are its Christian graces and virtues.' —LIGHTFOOT.

¹ The Armenian and Coptic versions omit the words 'the God.' On the other hand, the Greek text and the Latin version contain them, and the passage is quoted by two Fathers of the sixth century with the words inserted. On Ignatius' use of the word 'God' as applied to Jesus Christ see *Introd.* § 4.

² Cf. Gal. ii. 20. But here the idea is faith in the reality of the sufferings and death of Christ upon the Cross. Cf. Polyc. *Phil.* 7.

³ Cf. Eph. 18, note.

⁴ Cf. Matt. iii. 15.

⁵ Cf. Luke xxiii. 7-12; Acts iv. 27; and see *Introd.* p. 17.

⁶ Cf. Trall. 11. The Cross here, as in that passage, is represented apparently as a tree.

The words ἀφ' οὗ καρποῦ are rendered by Wake, following the Latin translator, 'by the fruits of which we are, even by His most blessed Passion,' the 'which' referring to the tree of the Cross. Zahn takes a similar construction, but refers the relative pronoun to Christ. In this case the fruit would be the Christian converts, in whom Christ 'sees of the travail of His soul,' and the meaning would be further explained by the following words, 'even of His most blessed Passion.' In illustration Zahn quotes John iv. 36, Rom. i. 13, 1 Cor. ix. 19 sq. This seems preferable to Lightfoot's rendering, 'from which fruit are we,' which requires us to represent Christ Himself as 'the fruit hanging upon the tree.' Possibly, however, the text is corrupt and we should read καρποί, 'of Whom we are the fruits.' This would find a parallel in a passage from

He might raise up an ensign¹ to the ages through His resurrection, for His saints and believers, whether among Jews or Gentiles, in one body of His Church.²

II. For all these sufferings He endured for our sakes [that we might be saved]. And He truly suffered, as also He truly raised Himself up.³ Nor is it the case, as some unbelievers affirm, that He suffered in semblance—it is they who are semblance.⁴ And according to their opinions, so shall it happen unto them, for they are unsubstantial and spirit-like.⁵

III. For I know⁶ and believe that He was in the flesh even after the resurrection. And when He came to

Clement of Alexandria quoted by Zahn, where the church is called 'His fruits' (*καρποί*).

The whole clause 'of whose fruit ... Passion' is a parenthesis. The following words 'that He might raise' belong to the preceding sentence.

¹ A reference to Isaiah v. 26; cf. also xlix. 22, lxii. 10. In all these passages the reference is to the rallying of the nations round the standard of Jehovah, set up among the chosen people. Ignatius sees a fulfilment of the prophecy in the Passion crowned by the Resurrection. Jerome states that some Christian writers understood the passage Is. v. 26 to refer to the Cross. The symbolism is certainly found earlier than the time when Constantine adopted the Cross as his standard, and may have been suggested by the language of John xii. 32.

² The language of this passage clearly recalls the teaching of St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. Cf. Eph. ii. 16, iii. 6, i. 23 etc.; Col. i. 18

³ In c. 6 Ignatius speaks of Christ as being raised by the Father, and this is the more general language of the N. T. But with the present passage cf. John x. 18.

⁴ Cf. Trall. 9, 10, where there is a similar play on the word *δοκῆσις*, 'seeming,' from which these teachers derived their name Docetæ.

⁵ The denial of the reality of the human nature of the Lord involved the denial of the resurrection of the body. There is probably an allusion to this in these last phrases. Ignatius has also in view, probably, the quotation which follows in the next chapter, 'I am not a spirit without body.'

⁶ The Latin version here reads 'I have seen' in place of 'I know.' This was probably due to a careless translation found in Jerome (*Vir. Illustr.* 16), who is plainly quoting at second-hand from Eusebius.

Peter and those who were with him, He said to them, 'Take, handle me and see that I am not a spirit without body.'¹ And straightway they touched Him and believed, being united with His flesh and spirit.² Therefore also they despised death, and were found to rise above death. Moreover after His resurrection He ate with them and drank with them,³ as living in the flesh, although spiritually united with the Father.

IV. Now these things I urge upon you, beloved, knowing that you also are thus minded. But I watch over you to guard you from wild beasts in the form of men, whom you must not only refuse to receive, but, if possible, not even meet [them]. Only pray for them, if haply they may repent. Though this⁴ is difficult, yet Jesus Christ, our true Life, has power to effect it. For if these deeds were wrought by our Lord in mere semblance, then too are my bonds mere semblance. Why moreover have I surrendered myself

¹ The incident recorded here bears a strong resemblance to that in Luke xxiv. 36-42. But there are striking differences, which show that it comes from a different source. Especially interesting is the phrase 'an incorporeal spirit,' whereas St. Luke has 'a spirit hath not flesh and bones.' Whether Ignatius derived the quotation from some apocryphal Gospel or from tradition, it is difficult to say. Eusebius quotes this passage of Ignatius (*II. E.* iii. 36), but admits his ignorance of the source of it. The words are ascribed by Origen to the apocryphal 'Doctrine of Peter,' and by Jerome to the Gospel according to the Hebrews. In any case the words would appear to represent a later tradition than the simpler and more natural words of St. Luke.

² Reading 'spirit' with the Greek text and the Latin and Coptic versions. The Armenian version, however, reads 'blood,' which Lightfoot prefers. Against the argument (see Lightfoot) that 'spirit' might easily be substituted for 'blood,' may be set the counter-argument that the difficulty of understanding how the disciples could be 'joined to His Spirit' may have led to the alteration 'blood.' The invitation to feel the nail-prints might suggest the word 'blood.' On the other hand it is possible that Ignatius had in mind John xi. 20-22 and the incident of the gift of the Spirit of the risen Christ.

³ Luke xxiv. 30, 35, 42; John xxi. 13.

⁴ *i. e.* their repentance.

to death, to face fire, sword, wild beasts? Yet he that is near to the sword is near to God,¹ in the presence of wild beasts, in the presence of God—only may it be in the name of Jesus Christ, that we may suffer with Him. All things I endure,² since He, the perfect Man, makes me strong.³

V. Yet Him certain persons ignorantly deny, or rather they have been denied by Him,⁴ for they are advocates of death⁵ rather than of the truth. They have not hearkened unto the prophecies nor the law of Moses,⁶ nor even up till now to the Gospel, nor to the sufferings which we severally endure.⁷ For they have the same thoughts also about us.⁸ For what profit is it to me, if a man praises me, but speaks evil of my Lord, refusing to confess that He has borne our flesh? But he that will not assert this has completely denied Him, and himself bears about with him a corpse.⁹ Now their names, since they are unbelievers, I have not thought good to write. May I not even remember them, until they have repented and turned to the Passion, which is our resurrection.

¹ Cf. a saying attributed to our Lord, recorded by Didymus on Ps. lxxxviii. 8: 'He who is near Me is near the fire, he that is afar from Me is far from the Kingdom.'

² Cf. 2 Tim. ii. 10.

³ Cf. Phil. iv. 13.

⁴ Cf. 2 Tim. ii. 12; Gal. iv. 9.

⁵ That is, by denying Christ's death and resurrection they deny the Christian hope of immortality.

⁶ This need not refer to Judaistic teaching, but may equally well be said of any error which ignored the testimony of the prophets and the facts of the Lord's life. For the Christian attitude to Old Testament prophecy see Magn. 9, Philad. 5, 8, 9.

⁷ Their sufferings are a testimony to Christ's death and resurrection.

⁸ Cf. c. 4. Their view of Christ's death and resurrection leads them to think of Christ's martyrs as idle visionaries.

⁹ See note above on c. 2. According to their teaching the body which they bore about with them was already practically a corpse, since they had undermined the belief in the resurrection.

VI. Let no man be deceived. Even the heavenly powers and the glory of the angels and the principalities both visible and invisible,¹ except they believe in the blood of Christ [Who is God],² have a judgment awaiting them. *Let him that receiveth receive.*³ Let not office puff up any man. For faith and love are everything, and there is nothing better than these. Mark those who hold strange doctrine with regard to the grace⁴ of Jesus Christ, which came unto us, how opposed they are to the mind of God. They have no thought for love, nor for the widow,⁵ the orphan, the afflicted, the prisoner,⁶ the hungry nor the thirsty. They withhold themselves from Eucharist⁷ and prayer, because they confess not⁸ that the Eucharist is the

¹ Cf. Trall. 5 with notes.

² The words in brackets are found apparently in two quotations of this passage in writers of the fifth and sixth centuries, but they are omitted by the Greek text and the Latin, Armenian, and Coptic versions. Against their genuineness is the fact that Ignatius never speaks of Christ as 'God' in this absolute way. See *Intro.* § 4.

³ Matt. xix. 12.

⁴ χάρις, 'the gift of Christ's incarnation and passion.'—LIGHT-FOOT.

⁵ For the 'order' of widows see 1 Tim. v. 9 and cf. Acts vi. 1, ix. 41; see also Polyc. 4. From early times the Church organized with the greatest care her benevolent work. About 250 A.D. Cornelius claimed that in the Church of Rome there were 'fifteen hundred widows and persons in distress, all of whom the grace and kindness of the Master nourish' (Euseb. *H.E.* vi. 43).

⁶ Cf. Heb. x. 34. The Greek text and the Latin version add after 'prisoner' the words 'or him that has been released.' But they are probably spurious.

⁷ On the word 'Eucharist' see Philad. 4 note. By 'abstaining from Eucharist' Ignatius means that they abstained from the authorized, public Eucharist of the Church. None of the Gnostic sects appear to have altogether ceased from holding Eucharistic feasts in their own assemblies. But according to Ignatius such Eucharists would not be regular or 'valid.' See c. 8.

The prayer refers to the public prayer of the Church, especially that connected with the Eucharist.

⁸ The reality of Christ's humanity was denied by these heretics.

flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which flesh suffered for our sins, and which in His loving-kindness the Father raised up.

VII. So then they who speak against the gift of God¹ die by their disputing. It were better for them to exhibit love, that they may also rise again. Therefore it is fitting to withhold yourselves from such, and to say nothing either in private or in public about them, but rather to give heed unto the prophets,² and especially to the Gospel, wherein the passion is manifested to us and the resurrection is accomplished.

VIII. Avoid divisions,³ as the beginning of evil. Follow, all of you, the bishop, as Jesus Christ followed the Father; and follow the presbytery as the Apostles.⁴ Moreover reverence the deacons as the commandment of God.⁵ Let no man do aught pertaining to the Church apart from the bishop. Let that eucharist be considered valid⁶ which is under the bishop or him to whom he commits it. Wheresoever the bishop appears, there let the people be, even as wheresoever Christ

Such denial involved a disbelief in the virtue of the Sacrament which was a means of communion with the divinely exalted humanity of Christ. Cf. the language of John vi. Similarly Irenæus argues that the Gnostics are inconsistent in offering the Eucharistic gifts, holding such views as they do upon the human nature of Christ (Iren. iv. 18. 5).

¹ That is, the Incarnation and its issues, including a reference to the Eucharist.

² Cf. above, c. 5, and Philad. 5, 9.

³ Ignatius here warns them against separatism, as above he has been warning them against heresy. The Docetæ were guilty of both.

⁴ Cf. *antea*, Magn. 6, 7, 13; Trall. 2, 3.

⁵ *i. e.* 'as the voice of God enjoining you.'—LIGHTFOOT.

⁶ The word translated 'valid' (*βέβαιος*) is found in Rom. iv. 16, Heb. ii. 2, ix. 17, and also in Ign. *Rom.* 3. It expresses the idea of security, and is used of the ratification of a promise or the validity of a covenant. It is the opposite of that which is precarious and insecure. Ignatius emphasizes the sacramental, no less than the doctrinal, unity of the Church. Cf. his language on the 'one altar' in Magn. 7, Philad. 4, and see *Introd.* § 4.

Jesus is, there is the Catholic Church.¹ It is not lawful apart from the bishop either to baptize² or to hold a love-feast.³ But whatsoever he approves, that also is

¹ 'The bishop, argues Ignatius, is the centre of each individual Church, as Jesus Christ is the centre of the universal Church.'
LIGHTFOOT.

This is the earliest occurrence in Christian literature of the phrase 'the Catholic Church' (ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία). The original sense of the word is 'universal.' Thus Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 82) speaks of the 'universal or general resurrection,' using the words ἡ καθολικὴ ἀνάστασις. Similarly here the Church universal is contrasted with the particular Church of Smyrna. Ignatius means by the Catholic Church 'the aggregate of all the Christian congregations' (Swete, *Apostles' Creed*, p. 76). So too the letter of the Church of Smyrna is addressed 'to all the congregations of the Holy Catholic Church in every place.' And this primitive sense of 'universal' the word has never lost, although in the latter part of the second century it began to receive the secondary sense of 'orthodox' as opposed to 'heretical.' Thus it is used in an early Canon of Scripture, the Muratorian fragment (circa 190-210 A.D.), which refers to certain heretical writings as 'not received in the Catholic Church.' So too Cyril of Jerusalem, in the fourth century, says that the Church is called Catholic not only 'because it is spread throughout the world,' but also 'because it teaches completely and without defect all the doctrines which ought to come to the knowledge of men.' This secondary sense arose out of the original meaning because Catholics claimed to teach the whole truth, and to represent the whole Church, while heresy arose out of the exaggeration of some one truth and was essentially partial and local. The use of the word in this passage by Ignatius has been urged as an indication of the late date of the epistles. But the fact that it is used in its primary sense is on the contrary an indication of early date.

² Ignatius is writing at a time when the extent of a bishop's administration did not exceed that of a town parish at the present day, and when the clergy worked in much closer connection with him than is possible now. (See note, Rom. 2.) The principle underlying his statement, however, is the general necessity of due authorization of ministerial acts by the bishop.

³ ἀγάπην. The earliest use of the word in this sense is Jude 12 (cf. 2 Pet. ii. 13, where ἀγάπαις is read by some MSS. in place of ἀπάταις, 'deceivings'). The name was given to the social meals, in which the early Church sought to give expression to the unity and brotherly love of its members. There are analogies to the custom in Jewish life and in the club feasts of Greek and Roman life. The fact that our Lord instituted the Eucharist in connection with a common meal may explain the association of the two at Corinth in the time of St. Paul (1 Cor. xi. 17 f.), though the name Agapé

well-pleasing to God, that everything which you do may be secure and valid.

IX. It is reasonable that henceforth we should awake and live soberly,¹ while we have opportunity to repent and turn to God. It is good to acknowledge God and the bishop. He that honours the bishop is honoured of God. He that does anything without the knowledge of the bishop serves the Devil. Let all things then abound unto you in grace, for you are worthy. In

is not found in that passage. Some scholars have seen a similar combination of Eucharist and Agapé in the *Didachē* (cc. ix, x), though others refer the account there given to the Eucharist alone, the Agapé being mentioned in c. xi.

Lightfoot thinks that in the present passage Ignatius includes the Eucharist in the Agapé, since he appears to describe the two most important functions in which a bishop could bear a part, and it is difficult to explain the omission of the Eucharist, if it is not included in the phrase. Hence he argues that in the time of Ignatius the separation of the two had not yet taken place (see *Intro.* p. 18). But this argument is weakened by the fact that the connection of the bishop with the Eucharist has already been sufficiently indicated in what precedes. In the almost contemporary letter of Pliny to Trajan (c. 112 A.D.), after describing how the Christians met before daylight and sang a hymn to Christ as God and bound themselves by an oath (*sacramento*) to live a strict life, the writer goes on: 'After this was done, their custom was to depart and meet again to take food, which was, however, quite ordinary and harmless.' In this description Lightfoot sees a reference to the celebration of the Eucharist (*sacramentum* may mean 'oath' or 'sacrament') before daylight followed by a later meeting for the Agapé, and he argues that in Bithynia the two were at this date distinct. But the early history of the Agapé is involved in great obscurity, and the problem of its connection with the Eucharist is the more difficult owing to the sacred character given to other meals than the Eucharist in early Christian times, and the fact that religious exercises were associated with them. See e.g. the description of an evening meal (which appears to have been an Agapé) in Tertullian, *Apology*, c. 39, and the account of the Service of the Evening Lamp in the so-called Egyptian Church Order (attributed by some recent scholars to Hippolytus) in Horner, *Statutes of the Apostles*, pp. 188 f. On the whole question see Bishop Maclean, art. 'Agapé' in Hastings' *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*.

¹ Cf. 2 Tim. ii. 26.

every way you have refreshed me, and Jesus Christ shall refresh you. Alike in my absence and presence you have cherished me. May God reward you, and as you endure for His sake, so shall you attain unto Him.

X. You did well in receiving as ministers of [Christ Who is]¹ God, Philo and Rhaius Agathopus, who accompanied me for the sake of God; who also give thanks unto the Lord for you, because you refreshed them in every way. You shall surely lose nothing. My spirit devotes itself for you,² as also my bonds which you did not scorn, and of which you were not ashamed. Nor shall He be ashamed of you, Who is perfect faithfulness, Jesus Christ.

XI Your prayer has gone forth unto the Church which is at Antioch in Syria. From thence I come, bound with the godly adornment of these chains, and I salute you, not as though I am worthy to belong to that Church, since I am the very last among them. In accordance with the will of God I have been deemed worthy, not of my own conscious act, but by God's grace, which I pray may be given to me completely, that by your prayer I may attain unto God. In order then that your work may be made complete, on earth as well as in Heaven, it is fitting that your Church should appoint for the honour of God an ambassador of God,³ to visit Syria and congratulate them because they are at peace and have received again their proper stature,⁴ and have had restored to them the proper measure of their body.⁵ It seemed then to me a

¹ Probably these words are corrupt.

² Cf. Polyc. 2 and Eph. 21 (note).

³ Cf. Philad. 10, and the fuller account in Polyc. 7.

⁴ The Church had been diminished by the effects of persecution.

⁵ In this and in the preceding phrase the Church at Antioch is compared to a fully developed human body, which for a time had been attenuated by persecution. The word *σωματεῖον*, translated

worthy act for you to send some one of your number with a letter, to give glory with them for the calm which by God's appointment has set in for them, and because through your prayer they were now reaching the haven. Inasmuch as you are perfect, set your aims also on that which is perfect.¹ For if you desire to act well, God is ready to aid you.

XII. The love of the brethren who are at Troas salutes you. Hence also I am writing to you by the hand of Burrhus,² whom you sent in my company together with the Ephesians your brethren. In everything he has refreshed me. And I would that all imitated him, for he is a pattern of the ministry of God. The Divine grace shall wholly requite him. I salute your godly bishop and revered presbytery, and my fellow-servants the deacons, and all of you both individually and in common, in the name of Jesus Christ, and in His flesh and blood, in His Passion and Resurrection which was both of the flesh and spirit, in the unity³ wherewith God binds you all. Grace, mercy, peace, patience be unto you always.

XIII. I salute the households of my brethren with their wives and children, and the virgins who are called widows.⁴ I bid you farewell in the power of the Father.

'the measure of their body,' is found in Eusebius, *H.E.* x. 5 and in the Code of Justinian in the legal sense of 'a body corporate.'

¹ *i. e.* to fulfil the 'work' referred to above.

² On the question whether this refers to the scribe or the bearer of the epistle see Rom. 10, Philad. 11 (notes).

³ Notice how Ignatius sums up in this sentence the warnings contained in this epistle. The mention of the resurrection as being 'of both flesh and spirit' is an allusion to Docetic views. The mention of 'unity' is an allusion to the separatism of the heretics.

⁴ There have been several interpretations of these words. The most convincing is that of Lighfoot. According to him the words refer to those women who, 'though by name and in outward condition they are widows,' yet are here called virgins, because they

Philo, my companion, salutes you. I salute the household of Gavia, and pray that she may be established in faith and love both in flesh and spirit. I salute Alce,¹ a name dear to me, and the excellent Daphnus and Eutecnus and all by name. Farewell in the grace of God.

are 'such in God's sight by their purity and devotion.' There is an allusion to the order of widows, on which see note, c' 6.

¹ Cf. Polyc. 8, and also the letter of the Church of Smyrna, c. 17, where the same name is found. Both passages may refer to the same person.

VII. THE EPISTLE TO POLYCARP.

[This epistle was one of those which were written from Troas immediately before Ignatius and his guard set sail for Neapolis (c. 8), and probably accompanied the letter addressed to the Church at Smyrna. It is of a more personal character than any of the others, and reveals the affection entertained by Ignatius for Polycarp. Ignatius had stayed at Smyrna and had apparently received much kindness from its bishop, of whom he makes a grateful mention in the letters written from that city (Eph. 21, Magn. 15).

Whether Ignatius had been acquainted with Polycarp before this visit it is difficult to say. The Antiochene Acts speak of Polycarp as the 'fellow-student' of Ignatius, and add, 'for in old time they had been disciples of John' (c. 3). But the tone of the present epistle certainly indicates that Polycarp was considerably the younger of the two, and was in fact a comparatively young man. The disparity of age would thus render improbable the statement of the Acts. On the other hand, when Ignatius expresses his gratitude that he has been permitted to see Polycarp (Polyc. 1), this language is insufficient to justify us in assuming, as Pearson and Lightfoot do, that Ignatius had not seen him before his visit to Smyrna.

The epistle was undoubtedly intended to be read also by the members of the Church at Smyrna, as in c. 6 he addresses them and enjoins them to obey their bishop. In the more directly personal part of the epistle he gives advice to Polycarp with reference to the various responsibilities of his office and his own personal conduct. He gives full instructions as to the choice of a delegate to represent the Church of Smyrna at Antioch, and makes a passing allusion to heresy. See c. 3.]

IGNATIUS, who is also Theophorus, to Polycarp, who is bishop of the Church in Smyrna, or rather, who has God the Father and Jesus Christ for his bishop,¹ abundant greeting.

I. I welcome your godly purpose which is firmly planted as on an immovable rock, and I render ex-

¹ Cf. Magn. 3; Rom. 9 (notes).

ceeding glory that I have been granted the sight of your blameless face—may I have joy of it in God. I urge you in the grace wherewith you are clothed to press on in your race, and to urge all men to be saved. Assert your office with all diligence of flesh and spirit.¹ Give heed unto union, for there is nothing better. Bear all men, as the Lord also bears you.² Suffer all men in love, as indeed you do suffer them. Devote yourself to unceasing prayers. Ask for greater understanding than you have. Be watchful, possessing a wakeful spirit. Speak to each man individually after God's way.³ Bear the infirmities of all men, as a perfect athlete.⁴ Where there is more toil there is greater gain.

II. If you love good disciples, this does not win you favour.⁵ Rather subdue by meekness the more pestilent. Not every wound is cured by the same salve. Ease sharp pains by fomentations. *Become prudent as the serpent in all things, and harmless continually as the dove.*⁶ Therefore you are of flesh and spirit, that you may humour the things which are visibly present before your face.⁷ But ask that the things which are unseen

¹ Polycarp is urged to make the power and influence of his office felt by an attentive discharge of all its duties.

² For the idea of this passage cf. Gal. vi. 2. The latter part of the sentence is probably taken from Is. liii. 4, following the version given in Matt. viii. 17, which differs from the LXX rendering. The influence of the same passage is also to be noticed a few lines below, where Ignatius says: 'Bear the infirmities of all men.'

³ *i.e.* in conformity with the character of God as revealed in the principles on which He acts. Cf. Matt. v. 45 ff., which probably suggested this passage.

⁴ Cf. for the figure 2 Tim. ii. 5 and Heb. x. 32. In later times the word 'athlete' became a common synonym for a martyr.

⁵ The spirit of this passage resembles that of Luke vi. 32 and 1 Pet. ii. 18.

⁶ A reference to Matt. x. 16.

⁷ By 'the things visibly present before your face' Ignatius means 'the visible, material world.' This world is to be 'humoured' into obedience to God. The two elements of man's nature, flesh and spirit, render it possible for him to act as a mediator between the

may be manifested to you, that you may lack nothing and may abound in every gift. The season demands you, as pilots demand winds and the tempest-tossed man demands the haven, so as to attain unto God.¹ Be temperate, as God's athlete. The prize is incorruption and life eternal, concerning which also you have been persuaded. In all things I devote myself for you, even I and my bonds which you have cherished.²

III. Let not those who seem to be specious and yet bring novel teaching dismay you. Stand firm as an anvil when it is smitten. It is the part of a great athlete to suffer blows and to conquer. And above all for God's sake we ought to endure all things, that He also may endure us. Become more zealous than you are. Consider the seasons.³ Look for Him Who is above all seasons, Who is timeless, invisible, made visible for our sakes, Who is beyond the touch of our hands, beyond suffering, Who yet suffered for us, Who in every way endured for us.

IV. Let not widows be neglected.⁴ Next to the Lord

material and the spiritual world. The passage expresses in a somewhat homely way a truth which recalls the great saying of St. Paul, 'I am made all things to all men.'

¹ The text here is probably in some confusion. The reading translated above represents the crisis as the pilot and Polycarp as the breeze, which gives an unnatural sense. Lightfoot suggests an emendation of the text which would yield the translation: 'The season demands you, as a ship demands a pilot, and as a tempest-tossed mariner the haven.' The metaphor of a ship to denote the Church is frequently found in later Christian writers. The abridged Syriac version contains a reading in this passage which indicates the presence of the word 'ship' in the text.

² Or, as Zahn would translate it here, following Bunsen, 'kissed,' referring to a practice alluded to by Tertullian and the Acts of Paul and Thecla. But, though ἀγαπᾶν is used of external demonstrations of affection, there seems no authority for this precise sense.

³ Cf. Matt. xvi. 3; Luke xii. 56.

⁴ See note on Smyrn. 6.

be yourself their guardian.¹ Let nothing be done without your approval, neither yourself do anything without God's approval, as indeed you do not. Be firm. Let assemblies² be held more often. Search out all men by name. Treat not disdainfully bondmen or bondwomen, yet neither let them be puffed up, but let them serve the more³ to the glory of God, that they may obtain from God a better freedom. Let them not desire to gain their freedom out of the common fund,⁴ that they may not be found the slaves of lust.

V Flee evil arts,⁵ or rather discourse upon them.⁶ Charge my sisters to love the Lord and to be satisfied with their husbands in flesh and spirit. Likewise charge my brethren in the name of Jesus Christ to love their wives, *even as the Lord loved the Church*.⁷ If any one is able to abide in purity⁸ to the honour of the flesh,

¹ Or 'trustee,' 'a semi-official term.'—LIGHTFOOT.

² συναγωγαί, lit. 'synagogues,' a name derived from Jewish usage and applied in the N. T. to the meetings for worship held by Jewish Christians. See James ii. 2. Here, however, it is used quite generally. For the duty here enforced see Heb. x. 25.

³ Cf. I Tim. vi. 2.

⁴ For this custom of the early Church cf. the Apostolic Constitutions iv. 9, where the ransom of slaves is included among the objects to which the Church alms may be devoted.

⁵ Various interpretations have been given of this warning. Some have seen in these 'evil arts' a reference to the 'black arts' of witchcraft, sorcery, etc. which we know to have been common in these regions. See Acts xix. 19. Others, as Zahn, take the phrase more generally to denote all improper ways of earning a living. Zahn rightly urges that it would be an easy transition for the writer, after speaking of slaves, to pass on to the other elements of life to be found in the great cities of the day, the disreputable callings of actors, mountebanks, wizards, etc.

⁶ Polycarp is urged to warn his hearers against the dangers alluded to by 'holding discourse' upon them, *i.e.* by making mention of them in his sermons in the Christian assemblies.

⁷ An echo of Eph. v. 25.

⁸ The word for 'purity,' ἀγνεία, is used here in the strictest sense to denote 'virginal chastity.' In the second and third centuries there grew up within the Church a widespread feeling upon this subject, which led many both married and unmarried to devote

which is the Lord's¹ let him abide therein without boasting. If he boast, he has perished. And if it be known further than the bishop,² he is corrupted. It is fitting that those who marry, both men and women, should enter into the union with the approval of the bishop, that the marriage may be according to the Lord and not according to lust. Let all things be done to the honour of God.

VI. Give heed³ unto the bishop, that God also may give heed unto you. I devote myself for those who submit to the bishop, presbyters, deacons. May it be mine to have my portion along with them in the presence of God. Share one another's toil,⁴ contend together, run together, suffer together, alike in rest and rising be together, as stewards⁵ and assessors and ministers of God. Please Him under Whom you serve,⁶ from Whom also you shall receive your pay. Let none of you be

themselves to perpetual chastity. The starting-point for such a view was probably the words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 1 ff.

¹ Cf. 1 Cor. vi. 15 sq. The words are especially applicable to those spoken of here.

² Those who devote themselves to perpetual chastity are to make known their vow to the bishop, but to no one else. To parade their virtue would be an act of immodesty. Others, however, as Zahn, would translate here 'if he become better known than the bishop,' *i. e.* if his chastity win him greater fame than the bishop, supposing the latter to be married.

³ At this point Ignatius turns to the members of the Church of Smyrna. In the whole of this and the following chapter he is addressing them.

⁴ The phrase alludes to the hard course of training which athletes underwent. Cf. Phil. ii. 16; Col. i. 29; 1 Tim. iv. 10. The following passage continues the metaphor, and the words 'rest' and 'rising' refer to the hours of sleep and rising appointed by the trainer.

⁵ The word 'stewards' is used here of Christians generally. Cf. 1 Pet. iv. 10. The following word 'assessors' is a strong expression of the idea found in 1 Cor. iii. 9.

⁶ Cf. 2 Tim. ii. 4.

found a deserter.¹ Let your baptism abide as your shield,² your faith as your helmet, your love as your spear your patience as body-armour. Let your works be your deposit,³ that you may receive the sums credited to you as your due. So then be long-suffering with one another in meekness as God is with you. May I have joy of you continually.

VII. Since the Church which is at Antioch in Syria enjoys peace⁴ through your prayer, as I have been informed, I also have been more greatly cheered, and God has set my mind at rest; if haply I may through suffering attain unto God, so that I may be found, through your entreaty, a disciple.⁵ It is meet, most blessed Polycarp, that you should assemble a godly council and appoint⁶ some one of your number, who is greatly

¹ The word used here is the Latin word 'desertor'; similarly below the words translated 'deposit' and 'sums accredited to you' are Latin words. The presence with Ignatius of an escort of Roman soldiers helps to explain the use of such words, and also the repeated reference to the details of a soldier's life and equipment.

² *i. e.* your baptism into the privileges and blessings of the Christian life will be found your best defence against sin. The metaphor in this passage was undoubtedly suggested by Eph. vi. 13-17, though it is worked out differently.

³ Zahn compares for the general sentiment here Matt. vi. 20, xix 21; Tobit iv. 8, 9. The metaphor is derived from the savings-bank attached to the cohorts of the Roman legions. The sums accumulated in this way were paid over to soldiers at their discharge. Deserters forfeited their savings.

⁴ Cf. Philad. 10, with note.

⁵ In the Greek there is a play of words which may have been intended to recall, as Lightfoot suggests, a Greek proverb, παθήματα μαθήματα, 'suffering brings wisdom.' There is, however, some doubt about the text in this passage. Another reading, supported by some MSS. and adopted by Zahn, would yield the translation, 'so that I may be found at the resurrection your disciple.' Then the contrast would be between 'suffering' and 'resurrection.' The expression 'your disciple' would find a parallel in Eph. 3, where his readers are spoken of as his trainers for the athletic contest.

⁶ Cf. Smyrn. 11, where the messenger is called 'God's ambassador.'

beloved and full of zeal, that he may bear the name of God's messenger:—it is meet, I say, that you should commission him to go to Syria and glorify your untiring love to the glory of God.¹ A Christian has not power over himself, but devotes his time to God. For this is God's work and yours, when you have completed it. For I trust in God's grace that you are prepared to do a good work which is meet for God. I have exhorted you in a brief letter, because I know how earnest is your sincerity.

VIII. Seeing that I could not write unto all the churches, because I sail immediately from Troas to Neapolis,² as God's will commands, you shall write to the churches which lie in front,³ as yourself possessing the mind of God, to bid them also do the same thing. Let those who can send messengers, the rest letters by the hands of the messengers whom you send, that you may be glorified, as you are worthy to be, by a work that will live for ever.

I salute all by name, as also the wife of Epitropus,⁴ with all her household and her children's. I salute Attalus my beloved. I salute him who is to be commissioned to go to Syria. God's grace shall be with him continually, and with Polycarp who sends him. I bid you farewell continually in our God, Jesus Christ, in

¹ The purpose of this mission is more fully stated Philad. 10; Smyrn. 11.

² For Neapolis see Acts xvi. 11. It was the port of Philippi. From Philippi Ignatius would travel along the Via Egnatia to Dyrrhachium and thence by sea to Italy.

³ *i. e.* nearer to Syria.

⁴ Lightfoot thinks the passage may be translated 'the widow of the procurator.' His reasons are—(1) there is no mention of the husband in the following salutation; (2) the word 'Epitropus' may possibly be, not a proper name, but the title of an office, as inscriptions found at Smyrna mention an officer called ἐπίτροπος οὐρατηγός.

Whom abide in the unity and under the governance¹ of God. I salute Alce, a name dear to me. Farewell in the Lord.

¹ The word here is ἐπισκοπή, the title of the bishop's office. Cf. the opening words of the epistle, where Polycarp is said to have God as his bishop.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

(I) THE HERESIES IN THE CHURCHES OF ASIA.

ALL the epistles, with the exception of those to the Romans and to Polycarp, contain warnings against heresy. In the epistles to the Magnesians and Philadelphians Ignatius deals with a Judaistic error, which showed itself in a return to the ceremonialism of the Jewish Law and in a setting up of the authority of the Old Testament against the Gospel (Magn. 8, 9, 10; Philad. 6, 8, 9). The epistle to the Philadelphians exhibits the more developed form of this tendency. In the epistles to the Trallians and Smyrnæans Ignatius opposes a Docetic error which denied the reality of the birth, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ, and maintained that our Lord's body was a mere phantom. Cf. esp. Trall. 9, 10; Smyrn. 1, 2, 3. We see the more developed form of this tendency in the epistle to the Smyrnæans. In both cases the false teaching had led finally to schism (Philad. 2, 3, 7; Smyrn. 6, 8, 9). From some references to Docetism in the epistles to the Magnesians and Philadelphians (Magn. 8, 9, 11; Philad. inscr., 3 (end), 4, 5) Lightfoot assumes that the two errors co-existed in some form of Docetic Judaism, which Ignatius attacks from different sides in the different epistles. This is also the view of Lipsius and Zahn, but it has been challenged by Hort (*Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 181-187) and Harnack (*Expositor*, March 1886, and *Chronologie*, pp. 389 n., 393). An intermediate view is held by Von der Goltz, *Texte u. Unters.*, Bd. xii. 3.

There are no references to Judaism in the epistles to

the Ephesians, Trallians, and Smyrnæans (unless we regard as such the references to the prophets and the law of Moses in Smyrn. 5, 7). There the error is simply Docetic. The reference in Magn. 8 to 'strange doctrines' and 'ancient fables' probably refers to Rabbinical fables rather than to Gnostic myths (see notes on the passage). In Magn. 9 and Philad. inscr. there are apparently references to Docetism. In the former of the two passages, after speaking of 'our life' as having 'its rising through Him and His death,' Ignatius adds a parenthetical clause beginning, 'which fact some deny.' The parenthesis, however, forms no part of his argument. In the second passage Ignatius speaks of the Philadelphian Church as 'rejoicing in the passion of our Lord and in His resurrection,' where his language may contain, as Lightfoot thinks, an allusion to the Docetic denial of the Passion. But in any case neither passage contains more than an incidental reference to errors which were prominent in the writer's thoughts at the time. In Magn. 11, after the conclusion of the attack on the Judaistic teachers contained in cc. 8-10, Ignatius bids them 'be fully convinced of the birth and passion and resurrection, which came to pass in the time of the government of Pontius Pilate—events which truly and certainly were brought to pass by Jesus Christ.' But the words do not necessarily form a part of the attack contained in cc. 8-10. Ignatius may be merely thinking of the dangers to which other churches were exposed, and warning the Magnesians beforehand against them. But the most valuable piece of evidence is the epistle to the Philadelphians. Ignatius had visited this Church, and in addressing it he plainly refers to actually existing errors, of which he had personal experience. Here, if anywhere, we might expect to find traces of a mixture of Judaism and Docetism. Yet besides the passage which we have already quoted the only passages appealed to by Lightfoot are cc. 3 (end), 4, 5.

In the first of these Ignatius says, 'If any man walks in strange opinions, he has no part in the Passion.' In the second he bids them partake of one Eucharist, as

there is one flesh of Christ. Both these passages may quite easily refer to the separatist tendencies of heresy generally, as 'cutting men off from the unity of the Church and the benefits of the Passion of Christ. In c. 5 Ignatius speaks of himself as 'taking refuge in the Gospel as the flesh of Jesus.' Here again the allusion is too slight to convey any distinct controversial sense. Had Ignatius been confronted with a form of heresy which combined Judaic and Docetic features, it is difficult to believe that his language would have been so vague and indirect.

Thus the language of the epistles does not require us to suppose that a form of Docetic Judaism was generally current in the churches. Both Docetic and Judaistic influences were undoubtedly present to the mind of Ignatius when he wrote his epistles. But whether in any particular church the one or the other, or both in combination, were found, depends upon the internal evidence of each epistle. From what we know of the foreign influences which had invaded the Jews of the Dispersion in the first and second centuries, it is not *a priori* unlikely that such a combination might exist, but it would require much stronger language than that of the passages Magn. 9, 11; Philad. 3, 8; Smyrn. 5, 7, to demonstrate its presence in the three churches addressed in those epistles. It is only natural to suppose that the memory of the dangers arising from both forms of error would colour the thought and language of Ignatius at the time, even when he was writing to churches not directly in danger. The remaining epistles show no trace of a combination of the two errors.

The Docetic heresy arose out of the oriental mystical spirit, which found a difficulty in believing in the contact of the Supreme God with matter. There are traces of a similar heresy in the false teaching alluded to in 1 John iv. 3, 2 John 7, and in Polycarp's epistle to the Philippians (c. 7). The Johannine epistles, however, probably have in view the teaching of Cerinthus, which was not properly Docetic. The Docetism attacked in the present epistles was 'thorough-going,

It was applied to the whole earthly life of our Lord from the Birth to the Resurrection.

This is a sign of early date, as Docetism tended to become modified as time went on. This 'thorough-going' Docetism finds a parallel in the teaching of Saturnilus, who was a contemporary and fellow-citizen of Ignatius. The epistles contain no traces of the features of the later Gnostic systems of Valentinus, Basilides, and Marcion.

The Jewish or Ebionite heresy was a development of the Pharisaic Judaism, of which we see the beginnings in the teaching attacked by St. Paul in the Epistle to the Galatians. It appears, however, that circumcision was no longer insisted on, for in Philad. 6 we read, 'It is better to hear Christianity from one who is circumcised, than to hear Judaism from an uncircumcised man.' This is in accordance with what we know of the later development of this heresy.

Both forms of heresy were dishonouring to the Person of Christ. Docetism denied the reality of His Manhood. Ebionism started from an imperfect conception of His Person, and ended by denying His Divinity. Both alike found a stumbling-block in the Passion, with its teaching of a Divine sufferer and a crucified Messiah. Both heresies in their developed form (see above) resulted in separatism, and gave occasion to an emphatic assertion by Ignatius of the unity of the Church.

(II) THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY.

THE statement in the Introduction, § iv. pp. 32 f., that in the New Testament and the early sub-apostolic writers the words 'bishop' and 'presbyter' are applied to the same person represents a fact which did not escape the notice of Church writers in ancient times. One attempt to explain the transfer of the name 'bishop' to the single monarchical ruler of the Ignatian epistles and

later times is that of Theodore of Mopsuestia in the fifth century. According to this writer the Church officers who are now called bishops were formerly called apostles, and ruled not single churches, but whole provinces. He represents St. Paul as appointing Timothy to rule the province of Asia and Titus to rule over Crete. But when the original Apostles passed away, their successors, recognizing that they fell far short of them in the character of their gifts and in other ways, shrank from retaining the name 'apostle,' and chose instead the name of 'bishop,' reserving the word 'presbyter' to the inferior office which now bears that name. As bishops were multiplied, not only were they appointed to particular towns and provinces, but each locality came to have its own bishop.¹ This theory is criticized by Bishop Lightfoot (*Philippians*, p. 195 f.) The Apostles, whether we use the term of the Twelve and St. Paul, or in the wider sense of the original founders of Churches, held no localized office. They were missionaries and moved about from place to place. Moreover the statement of Theodore that episcopacy spread from the provincial area to the smaller localities is not borne out by facts. The epistles of Ignatius prove the contrary, and show that the bishop's office was not in any sense 'diocesan.' The germ of truth contained in Theodore's statement is the fact that the missionary Apostles of the first days exercised a general supervision over the churches which they founded, and that the supreme power of this general and itinerant ministry came eventually into the hands of the single 'bishop' who belonged to the local ministry.²

In modern times discussion has largely turned on the relationship between this general ministry of the first Apostles and the local ministry of presbyters (or presbyter-bishops) and deacons which preceded the threefold ministry as we see it in Ignatius.

Bishop Lightfoot in his essay on 'The Christian Ministry' (*Philippians*, pp. 181 f.) starts with the repre-

¹ Theodore Mops., *Comm. in 1 Tim.* iii. 8.

² Cf. Turner, *Camb. Mediæval History*, I. 145.

sensation in Acts of the Twelve as the 'sole directors and administrators of the Church.' Owing to the increasing burden of work, the less important functions were soon delegated to others. First came the appointment of the Seven (Acts vi.) in whose office he sees a correspondence with the later diaconate, though the name 'deacon' is not used¹). The next stage, the appearance of the office of presbyters, first comes to light (Acts xi. 30) in close connection with the persecution of Herod, which appears to have led to the dispersion of the 'Twelve. Henceforth we read of presbyters as directing the affairs of the Church at Jerusalem. The office may have been created on the analogy of the 'elders' of the Jewish synagogue. But, once created, it extended to other regions, and Paul and Barnabas are represented on their first missionary journey as establishing presbyters in the churches which they founded (Acts xiv. 23). The term 'bishop' first appears in connection with Gentile Churches, and then as a synonym for 'presbyter.' Whether it was adopted from the analogy of the similar title applied to the directors of Greek religious and social clubs (as Dr. Hatch supposed) cannot be determined. But the name is applied in one passage (Acts xx. 28) to those who have previously been spoken of as 'presbyters' (the 'elders' of Ephesus, see *v.* 17), while elsewhere (Phil. i. 1) 'bishops' are spoken of, along with 'deacons,' in a way that suggests that presbyters are referred to. Similarly in the Pastoral Epistles Lightfoot urges that the same identification is to be made (see Tit. i. 5, 7; 1 Tim. iii. 1-7). Presbyters appear in 1 Pet. v. 5 and also in James v. 14. The same terminology appears when we pass outside the New Testament to the sub-apostolic period. In Clement of Rome and the *Didachē* we read of 'bishops and deacons' (Clement, *ad Cor.* 42, *Didachē* 15)—though the former uses 'bishop' and 'presbyter' as convertible terms (cp. *ad Cor.* 44)—and in Polycarp (*ad Philipp.* 5, 6) 'presbyters and deacons.' On the strength of this

¹ The words *διακονεῖν* and *διακονία* ('serve,' 'ministration') are, however, used in this connection. See Acts vi. 1, 2.

evidence Lightfoot holds that the local churches were under the direction of presbyter-bishops, whose function was to rule and teach, and that the monarchical episcopate was developed out of this subordinate office. In the position of St. James at Jerusalem (see esp. Acts xxi. 18, cf. Introd. p. 33) he sees the pattern and precedent of this later development; and in the activity of St. John at Ephesus, according to the tradition preserved by Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian (see note on Trall. 7), he would see one of the main agencies in extending an organization which had been adopted in the mother church of Jerusalem.

The discovery of the *Didachē* (or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles), published by Bryennios in 1883, subsequent to the appearance of Lightfoot's essay, led to a fresh review of the history of the ministry. In this work, side by side with the local ministry of 'bishops and deacons,' we find itinerant apostles, prophets, and teachers, who visit the churches. The apostle is to be received as the Lord, but may not stay more than three days. Provision is made for prophets and teachers who wish to settle down in the community. The prophet when speaking in the spirit is to be above criticism. He is allowed to use extempore prayer when 'giving thanks,' and first-fruits are to be assigned to him, for, says the writer, 'they (the prophets) are your high-priests' At the same time bishops and deacons, whom they are bidden to elect for themselves, are not to be despised, but are to be held in honour along with the prophets and teachers, whose ministry they also exercise. In this itinerant ministry of apostles, prophets, and teachers Harnack¹ sees a survival of an earlier teaching ministry, which owed its position, not to appointment by the Church, but to a special gift of inspiration, which enabled its possessors to 'speak the word of God,' and he contrasts this earlier 'charismatic'² ministry, to

¹ See Prolegomena to edition of *Didachē* in *Texte u. Untersuchungen* (1884), and *Constitution and Law of the Church in the first two centuries* (E. tr. 1910).

² This use of the term 'charismatic' is criticized by Dean

which he attributes the most important influence in the direction of the early church, with the purely administrative local ministry of presbyters (or bishops) and deacons, who derived their appointment from the community. As the older charismatic ministry declined or fell into disrepute (the *Didachē* contains warnings against 'false prophets'), the local ministry stepped into its place and exercised many of its functions. This theory has recently been discussed by the Dean of Wells (Dr. Armitage Robinson) in the volume of essays on *The Early History of the Church and Ministry* (pp. 59 ff.). He criticizes Harnack for reading back into the New Testament the conditions implied in the *Didachē*, and for the use which he makes in support of his theory of such passages as 1 Cor. xii. 28, Eph. iv. 11 (which refer to functions rather than offices), and he denies that prophets and teachers in the New Testament stand out (along with apostles) as a definite official class, superior to the local presbyters, and exercising a ministry to the universal church. The conditions in the *Didachē*, on the contrary, point to a stage at which the gift of prophecy, which in the Acts and Epistles is represented as a personal endowment, has become the badge of a professional class, with the attendant dangers of self-exaltation and deception. With Lightfoot it is reasonable to see in the 'helps' and 'governments' of 1 Cor. xii. 28, and the 'pastors and teachers' of Eph. iv. 11, an allusion to the permanent ministry of the Church, even though this is overshadowed by the more conspicuous gifts which were needed for the conversion of unbelievers and the founding of churches. These humbler offices had, too, their own charisma, or gift of the Holy Spirit, as we see from Acts xx. 28 and the language of the Pastoral Epistles (1 Tim. iv. 14; 2 Tim. i. 6).

Later discussions have somewhat modified Lightfoot's statement that the terms 'presbyter' and 'bishop' were

Robinson, *Essays on Early History of Church and Ministry*, edited by Dr. Swete (1918).

synonymous. Dr. Hort (*Christian Ecclesia*, pp. 190 ff.) maintained that the word 'bishop' was not a mere synonym, but denoted a function exercised by the presbyter—the function of 'oversight.' More recent scholars¹ have maintained a distinction between the presbyter and the 'bishop.' According to this view the word 'elders' ('presbyters') is used in our early sources in a more general and in a more particular sense. On the one hand, there is a wider class of 'elders' who are contrasted with the younger members of the community (1 Tim. v. 1; 1 Pet. v. 5; cf. Tit. ii. 2–6). On the other hand, there are 'elders' who rule (1 Tim. v. 17), and who are probably to be identified with the 'rulers' of Rom. xii. 28, 1 Thess. v. 12, Heb. xiii. 7. These latter have an official status; and they are appointed (cf. Acts xiv. 23, Tit. i. 5, Clement of Rome, *ad Cor.* 54). In the Church of Jerusalem they appear to have acted as an advisory and ruling council (Acts xi. 30, xv. 4, xxi. 18). Some of them at least exercised pastoral duties (1 Pet. v. 2) and were occupied in the ministry of the word and teaching (1 Tim. v. 17; Heb. xiii. 7). These facts explain their position in the Ignatian epistles, where they appear as a 'council' associated with the bishop.

According to this view 'bishops' would be selected from, and appointed by, the official presbyters to execute certain functions. The evidence of our sources suggests that these functions were threefold: (1) the representation of the local church in its external relations with other churches. Of this we have an illustration in the position occupied by Clement of Rome, who writes to the Corinthians to protest against the wrongful dismissal of some presbyters as a violation of church order. Similarly Hermas (*Vis.* ii. 4) is instructed to send one copy of his book to Clement, who is to 'send it to the foreign cities, for this is his duty.'

(2) Closely connected with the previous function is the administration of the finances of the Church. This would be necessary in view of the duty of providing

¹ See, e.g., Bernard, *Pastoral Epp.* pp. lvi ff.; Harnack, *Constitution and Law of the Church*, pp. 67 f., 69 f.

hospitality for those who came from other churches, and of supervising the charities of the Church. Hence we find the injunction that the bishop be 'given to hospitality' (1 Tim. iii. 2; Tit. i. 8), while in Justin (*Ap.* i. 67) the money collected for orphans and widows is to be deposited with 'the president.'

(3) Lastly, there is the connection of the bishop with the worship of the Church, centring in the celebration of the Eucharist. Thus in the *Didachē* (c. 15) the election of 'bishops and deacons' is referred to in connexion with the Eucharist, and in Clement of Rome (c. 44) the 'offering of the gifts' (*i. e.* in the Eucharist) is spoken of as a function of the bishop's office (cf. Ignatius, Smyrn. 8).

In the matters of finance and worship we find the deacons closely associated with the 'bishop,' and similar qualifications are required of them both (cf. 1 Tim. iii. 3, 8; *Didachē* 15). Deacons are closely associated with the 'president' in Justin's account of the Eucharist (*Ap.* i. 65, 67). The position of the Seven in Acts vi. 1-6 is an early indication of a similar function with regard to finance.

According to this view, while all bishops would be presbyters, all presbyters would not necessarily be bishops, as the latter, though chosen from the former, had functions of their own, though we cannot always sharply distinguish between the duties fulfilled by each. Teaching and the ministry of the word are assigned to both presbyters and bishops (1 Tim. v. 17; 1 Tim. iii. 2); in the *Didachē* (c. 15) bishops and deacons are said to 'minister the ministry of prophets and teachers'; and Hermas (*Vis.* iii. 5) similarly connects bishops and deacons with apostles and teachers.

The distinction between bishops and presbyters which has been drawn above does not, however, alter the fact that there were several 'bishops' in each local church. The stages by which the single bishop came to be supreme in the local church are hidden from us. The development was not uniform in all churches. When the Apostles, who had exercised a general supervision

over the churches founded by them passed away, the colleges of ruling presbyters established by them in the various churches would feel the need of a president, who could act as an executive official, as the presiding minister at the Eucharist, and as the representative of the church in its external relations.

Ignatius nowhere speaks of the bishops as 'succeeding to' the Apostles. The idea, however, of a 'succession' in the ministry and the belief that the Apostles had provided for it are found in Clement of Rome (*ad Cor.* 44).¹ Ignatius, on the other hand, emphasizes the importance of the bishop as the centre of unity in the local church (Smyrn. 8), while the unity of the church universal finds its organ of expression in 'the bishops established in the furthest quarters,' who are 'in the mind of Jesus Christ,' as Jesus Christ is 'the Mind of the Father' (Eph. 3).

Thus the local ministry, established in the first instance by the missionary apostles of early days, though obscured for a time by the more striking and exceptional endowments of missionary prophets and teachers, when these had passed away, gathered into itself the permanent powers of the apostolate, and in the episcopate provided the Church with an organ for the expression of the unity of the whole.

(III) THE ACTS OF THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. IGNATIUS.

THE story of the martyrdom of Ignatius is current in five different forms.

1. The Antiochene Acts, current in Greek, Latin, and Syriac.
2. The Roman Acts, current in Greek and Coptic.
3. The Bollandist Acts (Latin).
4. The Armenian Acts.
5. The Acts of Symeon the Metaphrast (Greek).

¹ On the history of the idea of 'apostolic succession' see the essay by C. H. Turner in *Essays on the Early History of the Church and Ministry* (edited by Dr. Swete), pp. 95 ff.

Of these the last three forms show their dependence upon (1) and (2), the narratives of which they combine in various ways. On the other hand the Antiochene and Roman Acts are plainly independent. Hence our attention may be confined to them.

The *Roman Acts* are the longer of the two forms, and exhibit a more developed legendary character than we find in the Antiochene Acts. According to the account which they contain, the trial before Trajan took place at Rome in the presence of the Senate. A long dialogue ensues between Trajan and Ignatius, in which the Senate occasionally intervenes. Trajan at first makes overtures to his prisoner and promises to appoint him high-priest of Zeus and give him a share in his kingdom, if he will abjure Christianity and sacrifice to the gods. As this proves unavailing, he threatens him with various forms of torture. On his part Ignatius heaps ridicule on the heathen gods and vindicates Christianity. After torture has proved unavailing, Trajan orders him to be left in prison without food for three days and then to be cast to the wild beasts. On the third day Trajan, attended by the Senate and the prefect, proceeds to the amphitheatre, where a great concourse is assembled. The endurance of the martyr excites the Emperor's wonder, and as he is still obdurate, the final sentence is carried out, and the wild beasts are let loose upon him. The beasts, however, only crushed him to death, without touching his flesh, 'so that his reliques might be a means of protection to the great city of the Romans, in which Peter also was crucified and Paul was beheaded and Onesimus was perfected' (c. 10).

Trajan is amazed at the circumstances of the martyr's death, and receiving about the same time letters from Pliny the governor with reference to the Christians, he issues a decree ordering that the Christians should not be sought out, but only punished when found. At the same time he permits the burial of the martyr's reliques. 'Then,' we read, 'the brethren in Rome, to whom also he had sent word that they should not sue for his deliverance from martyrdom and so rob him of the hope

which he cherished, took his body and laid it where it was possible for them to gather together and praise God and His Christ for the perfecting of the holy bishop and martyr Ignatius. For "the memory of the righteous is highly praised." ¹

The Acts conclude with a quotation of the references made to Ignatius and Irenæus and Polycarp.

The work is plainly a romance and cannot be shown even to be based on earlier documents.

'The exaggerated tortures inflicted on the saint, the length and character of the discourses attributed to him, and the strange overtures made to him by the Emperor, all alike are fatal to the credit of the narrative.' ²

The date of these Acts can only be inferred within rough limits. The writer shows traces of acquaintance with, and dependence on, the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius. He appears also to have known the interpolated version of the Ignatian Epistles, which, as we have seen, probably belongs to the latter half of the fourth century.

The story of Ignatius, as contained in these Acts, is made use of by Latin martyrologists of the ninth-century, not however in its original form, but in combination with the narrative of the Antiochene Acts. Hence Lightfoot thinks they may have been written at some period during the fifth or sixth centuries.

As to the place of writing, the fact that Greek appears to be the original language of the work shows that they do not come from the Roman Church, where Greek had ceased to be spoken long before this time. Lightfoot adduces several indications in favour of Alexandria in Egypt as their birthplace. The mention of the month Panemus (which belongs to the Alexandrian reckoning), the attack made by Ignatius on animal worship, and lastly the fact that these Acts alone were translated into Coptic, favours Lightfoot's conclusion. The relations of Alexandria and Rome, and the prominence of Rome in the narrative, may account for the circulation of these Acts in the West.

¹ c. 11.

² Lightfoot, vol. ii. p. 377.

The *Antiochene Acts* stand on a somewhat higher level. Their genuineness has been maintained by Ussher and Pearson as well as by many modern writers. In these Acts the centre of interest is mainly Antioch, where the trial takes place, and where the reliques are finally deposited.

After describing the government of the Church at Antioch by Ignatius, 'the disciple of the Apostle John, a man in every way of apostolic life,' the narrative proceeds to describe the visit of Trajan to Antioch, in the ninth year of his reign, after his victory over the Scythians and Dacians, and his resolve to complete his conquests by subduing the Christians. Ignatius is brought before him, and the following dialogue takes place. 'Who art thou, possessed of a devil, that art so ready to disobey our commands, and to persuade others also to come to a miserable death?' Ignatius said, 'No man calleth him that carries God within him devil-possessed, for the devils keep far from the servants of God. But if, because I am burdensome to these, thou callest me a wretch toward devils, I agree. For because I have Christ, a heavenly king, I overthrow their plots.' Trajan said, 'And who is he that beareth God?' Ignatius answered, 'He that hath Christ in his breast.' Trajan said, 'Dost thou then think that we have not gods in our hearts, forasmuch as we use them as allies against our enemies?' Ignatius said, 'Thou art in error in calling the devils of the nations gods. For there is one God, Who made heaven and earth and sea and all that is in them, and there is one Christ Jesus, His only begotten Son, Whose friendship may I enjoy.' Trajan said, 'Meanest thou him that was crucified under Pontius Pilate?' Ignatius said, 'I mean Him that hath crucified sin and the deviser thereof, and hath condemned all wickedness of devils to be trampled under foot of them that bear Him in their hearts.' Trajan said, 'Dost thou then bear Christ within thyself?' Ignatius said, 'Yea, for it is written, I will dwell in them and walk in them.' Trajan thereupon sentences him to be taken to Rome and to be thrown to the wild beasts in the amphitheatre.

The route is next described. Ignatius sails from Seleucia to Smyrna, where he visits Polycarp, the bishop, his fellow-student and disciple under John. The Churches of Asia send their bishops, presbyters, and deacons to welcome him, and men flock to him to receive a blessing from him. Then follows the letter to the Romans and the account of his fears lest he should be respited. From Smyrna he sails to Troas and Neapolis, thence through Philippi across Macedonia and Epirus to Epidamnus, where he takes ship to Portus. He had desired, we are told, to land at Puteoli, that he might tread in the footsteps of St. Paul, but unfavourable winds prevent this. Having set out from Portus, he is met by the brethren, whom he addresses at length, and after having prayed to the Son of God for the peace and love of the churches, he is conducted into the amphitheatre. It was the great 'thirteenth day,' and the sports were drawing to a close. Only the tougher parts of his reliques were left, and so his prayer was fulfilled, that he might not be burdensome to any of the brethren (Rom. 4). The bones were carried back to Antioch and laid in a sarcophagus as 'a priceless treasure to the holy Church.' On the night of his martyrdom he appears to several of his companions. To some he appears standing over them and embracing them, others see him praying over them, others again see him 'dripping with sweat, as one that had come out of great toil and standing by the Lord with great boldness and unspeakable glory.'

Like the Roman Acts, this narrative betrays its spurious character. In the first place the journey by sea from Seleucia is inconsistent with the genuine letters, which plainly indicate an overland route, as was seen by Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 36) and the compiler of the Roman Acts (c. 1). The visit of Trajan to Antioch 'in the ninth year of his reign' is unknown to history, while the expedition to Parthia, for which he is said in the Acts to have been preparing, did not take place till several years later. The account of the reliques reads like the language of one writing in a later age. Moreover the Acts are not quoted before the end of the sixth century. As we have

seen, Eusebius contradicts their account of the journey, nor does he mention the interview with Trajan. Chrysostom in his oration on Ignatius nowhere alludes to the story of the Acts. The earliest historian who shows any acquaintance with them is Evagrius, who wrote at the close of the sixth century.

There are, however, a few incidents in the latter part of the journey which, it has been thought, may be based upon some true traditions. Ignatius's desire to land at Puteoli, in order to follow in the footsteps of St. Paul, and the disappointment of his wish, are thought by Lightfoot to exhibit an 'air of truthfulness, or at least of verisimilitude.'

So, too, the appearances of Ignatius to his friends on the night of the martyrdom offer, it is urged, parallels to incidents in other genuine narratives. But against the view that a contemporary letter of the saint's companions has been incorporated into the narrative, Lightfoot himself urges the objection that it is improbable that such a document should not have come to light before the fifth or sixth century.

We are thus thrown back upon the letters themselves for the information which we seek about their author, and the traditions of later ages in this case add nothing that is reliable to our knowledge.

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